DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 405 005 IR 056 327

AUTHOR	Davis, Donald G., Jr.; And Others
TITLE	Reading for Moral Progress: 19th Century Institutions Promoting Social Change. Occasional Papers No. 207.
INSTITUTION	Illinois Univ., Urbana. Graduate School of Library and Information Science.
REPORT NO	ISSN-0276-1769
PUB DATE	Feb 97
NOTE	74p.; Papers presented at the Conference on Faith and History, Messiah College (Grantham, PA, October 7-8, 1994).
AVAILABLE FROM	Occasional Papers, Publications Office, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 501 E. Daniel St., Champaign, IL 61820-6211 ($10 plus $3 shipping and handling).
PUB TYPE	Historical Materials (060) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Biblical Literature; *Civil War (United States); Foreign Countries; *Information Dissemination; Library Development; *Literary History; *Nineteenth Century Literature; Publications; *Religious Education
IDENTIFIERS	England; *Nineteenth Century History; *Oberlin College OH; United States

ABSTRACT

The three papers in this document examine the motives behind the collecting and loaning of publications in the 19th century. They describe the effects of three discrete movements designed to assist religious, military, and academic endeavors. The first paper, "Bread Upon the Waters: The Printed Word in Sunday Schools in 19th Century England and the United States" (Donald G. Davis, Jr.), investigates nineteenth century Sunday school libraries. It traces their development to an English layman's idea about religious instruction for deprived young people in 1625 through its American transmutation in 1791 and then to the societies that grew to serve the needs of Sunday school teachers and students in succeeding decades. The second paper, "The Library Is a Valuable Hygienic Appliance" (David M. Hovde), documents the parade of portable libraries that made their way to the Civil War battlefronts and recounts the array of organizations that supplied soldiers with religious, literary, historical, scientific, and educational books and pamphlets. The third paper, "Wide Awakening: Political and Theological Impulses for Reading and Libraries at Oberlin College, 1883-1908" (John Mark Tucker), chronicles in detail the scope of donations to and acquisitions by Oberlin College for 25 years at the turn of the 19th century; it sketches the intentions of the donors and librarians and how the books were used. (Author/AEF)

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Occasional Papers

No. 207 · February 1997

Reading for Moral Progress: 19th Century Institutions Promoting Social Change

Papers from the Conference on Faith and History
Messiah College, Grantham, Pennsylvania, October 7-8, 1994

By
Donald G. Davis, Jr.
David M. Howde
John Mark Tucker

with an introduction by
Alan Gribben

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Manufactured in the United States of America
Printed on acid-free paper

ISSN 0276 1769

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Introduction

Alan Gribben

The formation of any library, whether limited to a single literary genre or dedicated to complex multiplicities of information, involves laborious and costly tasks of assembling, organizing, and retrieving human artistry, knowledge, and opinion; relatively few libraries, therefore, have been established so beneficently that perceptible agendas or at least traces of reformist impulses cannot be discerned in their background. As though to demonstrate this truism, the three scholarly papers gathered here examine altruistic but obvious motives behind the collecting and loaning in the previous century of publications varied in topic and audience but which seemed to the people supporting and performing the library functions crucial to share with their respective clienteles. Whatever a library's purpose or scope, as Michael Olmert (1992) reminds readers in *The Smithsonian Book of Books*, it represents a virtual "powerhouse" of a kind, for if we generally agree that "knowledge is power" then we must also recognize that "the library is its home." These papers describe the potent effects of three discrete movements designed to assist religious, military, and academic endeavors; each of the drives in its way succeeded to an impressive extent in empowering readers and improving their immediate situations.

Donald G. Davis, Jr. first takes up a large-scale phenomenon still inadequately investigated, the immensely widespread and influential Sunday school libraries of the nineteenth century, and traces their development to an English layman's inspired idea about religious instruction for deprived young people in 1625 through its American transmutation in 1791 and then to the versatile, far-reaching societies that grew up to serve the needs of Sunday school teachers and students in succeeding decades. Publishing houses released entire series of volumes for this enormous market, along with magazines, pamphlets, and other forms of print. (The more homiletic publications were so successful that Mark Twain, the foremost humorist of that era, amused his large audiences by repeatedly

parodying the familiarly formulaic stories about "good boys" and "bad boys" that dominated countless Sunday school libraries.) Although attention has been paid to the Sunday school institution itself, scholarship has scanted the publishing and collecting of the instructive materials required to promulgate theological doctrines and educate children in socially beneficial skills ranging from proper manners and morals to the acquisition of literacy itself.

An equally massive and even more urgent mission during the American Civil War called forth ingenious and sometimes makeshift methods of acquiring and disseminating reading matter to the troops engaged on both sides of the conflict. David M. Hovde documents the parade of portable libraries that made their way to the battlefronts and recounts the array of organizations desiring to make bearable the daily life of the soldiers by supplying them with religious, literary, historical, scientific, and educational books and pamphlets. This crusade to deliver reading materials to men enlisted in Civil War military units has been far less scrutinized than have been the orchestrated campaigns to distribute books during subsequent foreign engagements in which the United States became involved. Civilian groups contributing to this drive in the 1860s usually had ulterior or attendant goals, but these remained secondary to the huge task at hand. Only one such organization, and that several decades after the Civil War, would be reprimanded for accepting funds without bothering to perform its promised activities. For four horrific years the barbaric reality of military operations ultimately claiming more than 600,000 lives on American soil was somewhat mitigated by the reassuring availability and distraction of the printed word.

Early patterns of accession in college campus book collections are not recoverable with accuracy in the majority of cases, but John Mark Tucker chronicles in detail the scope of donations to and acquisitions by Oberlin College for twenty-five years at the turn of the century. Equally as interesting, Tucker sketches the intentions of the donors and librarians and the uses to which the books were put: establishing innovative academic courses; founding student societies for debating, making speeches, and analyzing political issues; merging social science disciplines and church obligations to approach urban problems with the tactics of applied Christianity; agitating for anti-liquor legislation to curb domestic violence and other abuses; and buttressing the emerging new emphasis on faculty and student research. Tucker's description of trends focuses on the signal leadership of six men who critically and lastingly influenced the growth of the Oberlin College Library.

In the aggregate, these papers by Davis, Hovde, and Tucker demonstrate again that competent histories of libraries invariably and necessarily reflect a far broader history of associated personalities, economic factors, social thought, population shifts, and national events. Still more significantly, these studies of the library component of Sunday schools, the Civil War, and Oberlin College constitute valuable contributions to intellectual history by providing vital, revealing indexes as to what Americans were buying, donating, consulting, borrowing, and talking about in earlier generations, and by explaining how thousands upon thousands of readers came into contact with those particular titles. To understand the patterns of expectation behind nineteenth-century libraries—whatever their size, location, or purpose—is to penetrate and resolve mysteries regarding our former priorities and concerns. Retracing the faded outlines of cultural maps from past eras entails arduous but laudable research, and the scholars who undertook these commendable projects deserve to be emulated by numerous students willing to pursue additional inquiries along similar lines.

—Alan Gribben
Auburn University at Montgomery

Bread Upon the Waters: The Printed Word in Sunday Schools in 19th-Century England and the United States

Donald G. Davis, Jr.

Although the Sunday school as an institution has celebrated more than two centuries of life in Anglo-American church history, not until the present generation have serious students (that is, those other than leaders in the movement themselves) begun to give it the kind of treatment it has deserved. As late as 1975, Martin E. Marty wrote: "As a church historian, I have always been amazed to see how little attention has been given this basic institution by historians and scholars" (cited in Knoff, 1979, p. xi). Were Marty writing today, he would have reason to be encouraged, even though there is plenty of historical work left to do. In addition to the printed primary sources left by the founders and organizers of the movement, who flourished principally in the nineteenth century, the present student has the benefit of at least three foundational studies and several popularizations, not to mention biographical studies.[1]

This discussion explores the role of print in the Sunday-school movement in England and in the United States during the period of the movement's greatest strength, between the War of 1812 and World War I, or generally the nineteenth century. (Sunday schools are sometimes referred to as societies; some characterizations extend beyond England to Great Britain and beyond the United States to English-speaking Canada thus, when appropriate, one may use the adjectives British and American.) Utilizing largely secondary sources and limited archival evidence, this paper hopes to examine the thesis that, since Sunday schools in each country, while bearing some common characteristics, differed substantially in their character and expression, their creation, distribution, and use of publications also show a marked difference.[2] Beyond the literature of Sunday-school history itself, it impinges as well on historical aspects of literacy and education, publishing, and libraries. Before focusing on the use of published materials later in the paper, the context of these phenomena requires some explanation. Thus, a review is appropriate of the origins of Sunday schools, the major organizations

providing leadership for the movement, the continuing tensions present, and the apparent differences in the institution exhibited in Britain and America.

THE BEGINNINGS

Although there are claimants before him, some as early as 1625, Robert Raikes, publisher of the *Gloucester Journal*, faithful Church of England layman, and social activist has received recognition for initiating an idea that caught on widely. No doubt he gave the idea of a school for poor illiterate urban children a boost when, in 1781, he engaged four women, who ran neighborhood dame schools, to teach children, who were referred to them, the catechism on Sunday afternoons, each teacher receiving a shilling for her day's work (Laqueur, 1976, p. 23 citing a 1783 letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*). Soon after, a clergyman who was enthusiastic about the idea began exercising basic supervision.

The idea of the Sunday-school society spread very rapidly because of its simplicity, its freedom from close clerical control, and its appeal to children and youth with little else to do on Sundays, frequently their one day off from work. As a variety of people from different economic classes and church traditions became involved in establishing schools, Sunday schools flourished throughout England to an enrollment of around 65,000 students in 1790, over 200,000 by 1800, and over 2 million in 1850. (By 1900, there were an estimated 7,300,000 students, 674,000 teachers, and 53,600 schools in Great Britain and Ireland [Laqueur, 1976, p. 44; International Sunday-School Association, 1905, p. 676].)

The first Sunday schools (or societies) of this new variety begin to appear in America in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the first established by the First Day Society in Philadelphia in 1791. This ecumenical group, including physician Benjamin Rush (former Presbyterian turned Universalist) as well as the Catholic publisher Matthew Carey, sought "the religious improvement and good education of youth" and not only the goal of establishing Sunday schools but to petition the state legislature on the need to institute free public schools (Rice, 1917, pp. 44-48; Boylan, 1988, pp. 6-21).[3] These founders hired two schoolteachers to do the actual instruction in Biblical values and behavior.

Generally popular in the urban areas first and then spreading to the rural areas and settled frontier, by 1825, Sunday schools in the United States could claim about 180,000 scholars with concentrations in New

England and the Middle States. By the mid 1870s, enrollment had increased to about 6,500,000 students. (By 1900, there were an estimated 11,300,000 students, 1,450,000 teachers, and 140,500 schools.)[4]

THE ORGANIZATIONS

Well before the middle of the nineteenth century, the numerical strength of American Sunday schools exceeded that of their English counterparts that had enjoyed a head start and worked within a rather structured society where the church was relatively well organized, and urbanization was well advanced. While Sunday schools appeared often as an urban phenomenon, they also flourished as a vanguard of religion in regions that were under development and had not yet attracted the systematic attention of a nationally organized religious group.

In both nations, Sunday schools must be viewed as part of the movement to establish voluntary associations that focus the attention and energies of the largely Protestant establishment mainline denominations or state church, as well as free and dissenting churches. These associations, including various benevolent organizations, outreach ventures, and missionary societies, were prevalent in England before they took firm root in the United States during the early national period.[5] Although this paper affords no opportunity to trace this development in full, one example that had a profound affect on missionary endeavor, religious publishing, and religious education (including the Sunday school) was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) founded in 1698. One of its founders, Thomas Bray, established parish libraries throughout England and the American colonies. Later, it provided funds, personnel, and printed matter to institutions all over the world, though primarily in British colonial dominions, in concert with its sister organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) founded in 1701 (one classic treatment of this society is Allen & McClure, 1970).

The Sunday-school movement was both product and a generator of related voluntary societies and cooperative associations or unions. Agencies that printed and distributed Bibles, tracts, and religious literature increased in number about the turn of the nineteenth century and complemented well the rise of Sunday schools. They seemed to be the first organizations to unite various factions represented in the emerging Protestant spectrum. Among these in England were the Religious Tract Society (1799) that institutionalized and expanded the concepts initiated by Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts a few years earlier, and

the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). The comparable groups in the United States followed quickly behind. These included the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1825). The initiating of societies for promoting Sunday schools was a part of this general movement for coordination and support. The Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools throughout the British Dominions, composed of equal numbers of Anglicans and Dissenters, was organized in London in 1785, and the first local society to foster Sunday schools began in Philadelphia six years later (these movements are treated in several sources including Walker, 1959). (The historical role of the Sunday-school movement in early modern ecumenical efforts has not been fully recognized, though its part in the internationalization of Christian institutions has undergone study [the definitive treatment to date is Knoff, 1979].)

Since the organizations that grew to extend, support, and oversee Sunday schools are significant factors in the provision of reading material in their far-flung affiliated units, an understanding of their origin and function is essential. In both nations, individual schools did not exist for very long in isolation and soon united locally and regionally with others for support. In England, the initial interdenominational Sunday School Society (as the Society founded in 1785 was usually referred to) became an agency of promotion and publications rather than a group that actually started Sunday schools. Within 20 years, its initial mission had largely been accomplished and its publishing responsibilities were subsumed by another group.

That body was the Sunday School Union (SSU) founded in 1803 by a nondenominational group of activists with heavy leanings toward dissenting groups. In contrast with the Society, the Union was composed of younger, more middle-class, and evangelical leaders who vigorously pressed the cause of Sunday schools on the local, as well as the national, level and sought to influence legislation that would benefit their development. Finding permanent housing for its headquarters in London after 1853, this became the major association of its kind in the nation and even spawned other potentially competitive groups, such as the Christian Endeavor Society and the International Bible Reading Association. The establishment of the Methodist Sunday School Union in 1837 and the Sunday School Institute (Anglican) in 1843 attested to the vitality of the moment (Laqueur, 1976, pp. 33-42; International Sunday-School Association, 1905, p. 676).

In the United States, the establishment in early 1791 of A Society for the Institution and Support of First-Day or Sunday Schools in Philadelphia (or the First Day Society) marked the beginning of the movement. The influence of Robert May, a Presbyterian in transit to India under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, ten years later sparked the planting of numerous Sunday schools (International Sunday-School Association, 1905, pp. 536-37).[5] These and others formed The Sunday and Adult School Union in 1817, which led in 1824 to the founding of the American Sunday-School Union (ASSU). By this time there were some 723 affiliated schools in 17 states. This organization moved aggressively to establish Sunday schools in the sparsely populated and isolated rural and frontier areas. (It has been operating since the 1970s under the name American Missionary Fellowship.) In time, the Episcopalians (especially high-church) and Methodists, and later Baptists, formed their own associations of denominationally oriented Sunday schools. The Presbyterian and Congregational churches set up agencies to publish curricular material as well, but Sunday schools seemed to fit better into their theological understanding of Christian education (Boylan, 1988, pp. 77-78).

THE COMMON TENSIONS INFLUENCING PRINT OBJECTIVES

Before comparing the Sunday schools in England and America by looking at their contextual characteristics, a cursory examination of similar and recurring issues will be helpful. Among the tensions that are interwoven and that appear as continual themes are: (1) the purpose of the Sunday school; (2) the relation of the Sunday school to a local church; (3) the relation of the Sunday school to a denomination or group of churches; and (4) the relation of Sunday schools to a changing society. Each of these issues are worthy of treatment in depth, but in this paper only some of the basic points can be mentioned.[7]

First, the purposes of the Sunday school have been of importance since the first establishments. Originally, the schools, or societies, were founded in order to afford an opportunity for children and youth to receive a basic education in reading, writing, and arithmetic who were not able to do so elsewhere. Sunday was a day free from regular labor for an increasing number of children as well as adults. Not only could basic literacy and numeracy skills be learned, students could, at the same time, gain an appreciation for rudimentary literature and art and gain practical knowledge about the world around them. Finally, such a school could also be a force for acculturation into the desirable and responsible

behavior expected by the prevailing mainstream values of society. Thus, in addition to receiving basic education, students might also learn good manners and the standards of acceptable behavior.

Naturally, as much as possible, these lessons were taught using material found in Biblical writings or those inculcating the morality expected by the benefactors, sponsors, and teachers in the Sunday school. Beyond this, however, one of the purposes of the school clearly was to influence the students not merely to become good citizens in the community but to become trusting Christians. From the beginning, the "secular" and the "sacred" was mixed in the purpose, and thus in the curriculum, of Sunday schools. The degree to which that purpose received emphasis depended on the situation and, presumably, the immediate need.

Second, the relationship of the Sunday school to the local church involved, among other things, whether it operated under the authority of the church. Because of their nature, the schools as often as not had an independent beginning and could be seen as a threat to the hierarchical structure of a church. Although some churches well into the nineteenth century treated Sunday schools as outside the official church structure, others tried to bring them inside it. Controlled almost entirely by lay persons and often enlisting both men and women as teachers, some church leaders felt apprehensive. This led ultimately to some denominational incorporation of the Sunday school into organization structures. However, its independent nature seemed to guarantee that evangelically minded people would make use of its appeal to establish such societies without ecclesiastical approval. When such an entity developed a life of its own, it could re-form itself as a church—most likely an independent unit with congregational governance. Thus the already existing tension between church and chapel could heighten.

Third, and related to this, was the issue of theological relationship of the Sunday school to a church tradition. The movement largely saw itself, especially in its most noteworthy and spiritually romantic cases, as a missionary movement to reach out to abandoned and certainly disadvantaged youth, to use a present-day term. As such, the spiritual goal was the salvation of souls. Church leaders were concerned that these new converts be brought into existing parishes or sometimes become the nucleus for new churches. As the nineteenth century progressed, they also began to see the possibilities of Sunday schools as vehicles to fulfill the Christian nurturing obligations of the church, which had been suffering. In fact, in the established churches in England and Scotland and the historic reformation churches in America, the Sunday school be-

came a kind of surrogate or at least a supplement to the education and preparation of catechumens. When the religious education of adults became in vogue, probably when secular agencies began to promote adult enrichment through education, the Sunday school again appeared as a means to an end.

Fourth and finally, with regard to general society, the role of the Sunday school changed as the nineteenth century witnessed changes in educational and social patterns. As free tax-supported basic education became more common, the book trade in relatively cheap reading matter improved, child labor laws came into force, and other organizations took over some of its functions, to name just a few changing environments to which Sunday schools had to adapt their objectives and programs. For the purposes of this paper, the availability of textbooks and the rise of the circulating and the free public libraries are two forces that affect the printed matter previously supplied by Sunday schools. Others have studied these phenomena that brought about a distinct change and then decline of the Sunday school as an institution of great significance in church life in the twentieth century. But the roots of this were in the preceding century.

THE COMPARATIVE CONTEXT OF THE PRINTED WORD

In the context of these general themes and tensions in the historical evolution of the Sunday-school movement, one can now deal in comparative fashion with the development of British (or English) and American manifestations. While others have noted many of the differences outlined below, the topic has received its most recent and succinct treatment through the work of Anne Boylan who has summarized the material presented by others, though the debate continues.* In both England and the United States, the Sunday schools changed from their initial design within a matter of decades. In England, the original philanthropic purposes were obscured by the movement being taken over, to some extent, by working-class teachers and enthusiasts, while in America the original scholastic emphasis was pre-empted by the religious goals of evangelism and nurture. But the differences were far more fundamental than this.

From almost the first, the Sunday schools in the two nations diverged in mission orientation into two separate directions. The British focused on locally supported, relatively independent, institutions directed toward reaching the lower strata of society, primarily in industrial areas, whereas, in the United States, comparable institutions that were identified both

as church-related and mission-related bodies appealed to and enrolled youth and children from a much wider spectrum of social classes. The affiliation of these schools with national and regional church bodies and missionary organizations meant that their members began with greater religious loyalties than their British counterparts who were largely from the unchurched segments of communities.

Not only are class differences noticeable, so too are the contrasts in societal and geographical roots. The British societies had roots primarily in the dissenting and free churches rather than the Church of England and concentrated their efforts not so much in London as in the larger villages and smaller industrial cities. American Sunday schools, by contrast, grew well in the large cities, as well as in small towns and rural and frontier areas and enjoyed widespread support from a variety of Protestant religious groups. (The Union activities in the United States have received comment above.)

A further distinction in the two movements is that, in the United States, the Sunday school was instrumental by design in furnishing new church members to affiliated congregations. In spite of some apprehension about lay leadership voiced by clergymen, denominations found that Sunday schools educated the young into the ways of the church. Mission schools, likewise, prepared future members for churches yet to be established or for joining an existing denominational group. In fact, building on popular concern about educating children, the evangelical movements in the first half of the nineteenth century seized on the Sunday school as a primary mechanism for national evangelism (evangelical nationalism?) through missionary work among those children (and ultimately families) who had not had a salvation experience or had not yet committed themselves to a specific religious tradition. In Britain, by contrast and perhaps because of the pervasive nature of Christendom, Sunday schools did virtually no missionary work as such, certainly not on the mass scale of their peers in America. In short, they carried on a much more limited program supporting the purpose for which they were originally conceived, whereas in America the institution shaped itself for a broader purpose.

For the purposes of this discussion, one more major contrast remains. Sunday schools in England were much more concerned about providing the foundations of literacy than were those in the United States. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, basic education was available nationally on a limited level. Though other efforts to stimulate

basic education for all in Britain occurred earlier, the first Education Act passed in 1870, twenty years after national legislation enabling free public libraries. Basic education was conducted at home, in endowed grammar schools, or in dame or charity schools. Consequently, British societies taught "the three Rs" for a longer period of time and to a greater percentage of the young population than the American ones ever did. In this country, where education was a province of each state, the spread of local free public education and the relative lack of class divisions in the first decades of the nineteenth century enabled Sunday schools to focus on more purely religious instruction from the 1820s onward. They functioned as a complement to the public schools rather than as an alternative or substitute."

THE ROLE OF PRINTED MATERIAL

An issue central to the role of Sunday schools in the society of a nation is the degree to which they served as "agents of cultural transmission," to use a modern concept (Boylan, 1988, p. 168). What was taught in the schools and communicated to the children, implicitly and explicitly, is evident in the instructional priority given not only to reading and general literacy skills themselves, but also on the nature of the culture that those skills sought to perpetuate as the schools, through their teachers, prepared their charges for a place in a society increasingly oriented to print. The skills themselves were important, so the reasoning goes, but the content and the format and packaging also played a part. Before returning to this concept in historical context, the time has come to examine the nature of reading materials available to, and promoted by, nineteenth-century Sunday schools and the publishing patterns of distributing agencies that served them. The findings of this survey will assist in drawing some conclusions about the role of the printed word in British and American Sunday schools.

Sunday-school publications in Britain and the United States from the final years of the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries continued the kind of materials that preceded them and responded to the twin demands of their increasing constituency of their young and maturing readers and of their leadership. Although supported by the tradition of the Bible and tract societies, as represented by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, they struck out in new directions. Three categories of materials appear: (1) tracts and presentation (or reward) books, (2) periodical literature, and (3) textbooks and curricular material. Publishing for the popular and mass market, coinciding with the

mechanization of the printing arts in the first half of the nineteenth century, flourished on all sides; Sunday schools were well positioned to take advantage of this. All three types of literature are represented on both sides of the Atlantic.

The model for the first type in England, and for early didactic children's reading, was the work of Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, whose small leaflets or slim soft-cover books were used for about 50 years (1790s-1840s).[10] Such titles as *John the Plowman and Mary the Milkmaid*, the *Strawberry Gatherers*, and *Colin Cameron or the Herd Boy* exemplify the scores of short pieces that were printed and distributed by the thousands. As the SSU developed materials specifically for Sunday-school purposes, other general interest pieces appeared on topics related to British culture and history as well as science. Examples of these are titles on the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, *Cabinet of Curiosities* (advances in applied science), *Foreign Fruits*, *Flax and Corn*, and *Industry of Beavers*. There were, of course, the standards of *Pilgrim's Progress*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and *Paradise Lost*. The American movement, represented primarily by the ASSU and operating without the hindrance of copyright restriction until the century's end, reproduced English titles that remained a majority of its publication list until mid century. Representative American titles include *The Dairyman's Daughter*, *The Converted Child*, *Little Henry and His Bearer*, and *Gold Bought Too Dear; or the Selfish Boy*.[11] These books served as prizes and prized reading material in local society libraries.

Magazines and periodicals for Sunday schools likewise make their debut at this time, a time when periodicals of all kinds were increasing in number. These were directed to children, to youth, and to teachers. Examples of these in Britain are *Child's Magazine* and *Sunday Scholar's Companion*, *The Children's Friend* or *The Child's Companion*, and *Youth's Magazine or Evangelical Miscellany* (SSU). Denominational magazines include *The Primitive Methodist Children's Magazine* and the *Baptist Magazine*. These varied from what Laqueur calls "a steady diet of particularly gruesome deathbed scenes and unusually vacuous moral tales" (Laqueur, 1976, p. 208), to pieces on natural history, mechanics, history, geography, and other subjects. As with its British counterpart, the ASSU found an audience in its *American Sunday-School Magazine* (from 1824 and subsequently, *Sunday-School Times* and *Sunday-School World*) aimed at school workers. Simultaneously, it launched its *Youth's Friend* (later, *Youth's Penny Gazette*) for older students, and also *Infant's Magazine*. In the United States, denominations seemed less pressured to compete with the hegemony of the ASSU in publishing, though one example is *The Sunday-School Visitor*,

published by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. As with books, ownership of these was an important instrument in family education.

Textbooks, however, provide the most stark contrast, showing the great difference between the British and American approaches. Although in the United States the ASSU published and distributed reading and spelling books in its first several decades, by the 1830s this emphasis was dying out because of the general prevalence of public schools. Earlier, its *Union Primer* and *Union Spelling Book* were widely used for teaching basic literacy among children and others who did not have access to educational opportunities. However, in England the situation was quite different. From the 1790s onward, Sunday schools used a variety of texts for instruction in basic literacy and numeracy, the primary focus of many schools. Even before the SSU began its publishing program, works like *The Salisbury Reader*, and *Reading Made Completely Easy; or a Necessary Introduction to Reading the Bible* (all with many editions from the 1780s) went through many reprintings. The SSU's own publishing program was extensive. Its *Reading Book*, as one example, sold about 250,000 copies annually during the 1830s and 1840s (Laqueur, 1976, p. 213). All of the available evidence points to a much larger British market for textbook material from Sunday-school sources, thus supporting the different role of the movement in Britain in contrast to the United States.

Two other elements of the reading factor in the Sunday-school equation require mention—libraries and book marketing. Beginning with small randomly selected collections of books for use by Sunday scholars and their teachers, by the mid-nineteenth century, the vast majority of Sunday schools in Britain and America had functioning libraries, though they were more prominent in urban and church-run schools than in rural and mission schools. Their contents would range from several volumes to several hundred volumes in urban societies.[11] In addition to religious materials for standard consumption, they would add Biblical and religious reference volumes as they were able. The merging of a school library with an existing parish library could thus result in a sizable collection. A number of cultural historians have suggested that the experience of large numbers of citizens of the middle and lower classes with these libraries provided an impetus at mid century for the burgeoning public library movement (see, among other sources, Keller, 1942, p. 739). This is a whole topic that deserves more detailed treatment. Since general library development occurred somewhat earlier in Britain than in the United States, it is likely that American Sunday-school libraries retained their singular value and uniqueness in local communities for a longer period than those of their British counterparts.

One way that the ASSU and, to a lesser extent, the SSU assured a steady flow of general reading fare to its constituent school libraries was the generation of whole "libraries," that is a series of volumes preselected for various numbers of titles in certain fixed price ranges. These could be purchased by local Sunday schools, church and community groups, or families for reference or circulating use. The ASSU selections ranged in 1851 from a Complete Library of 712 volumes (complete set of Union publications) with 100 catalogs and case for $133.00 to The Child's Cabinet Library of 50 volumes for $2.50, and many in between (see illustrations) (see illustrations in Boylan, 1988, pp. 51, 56). These libraries, comprised of new and previous series of volumes on various religious and secular topics, provided a convenient way to gain access to cheap reading matter and feed the soul at the same time. Furthermore, they paralleled the innovative popular reading series that were being developed by the new publishing entrepreneurs that flourished in Europe and America, taking advantage of newer printing technologies and the vastly increased popular reading public.

A sidelight to the ASSU's book operation, in which their far-flung missionaries in the South and West served as agents or colporteurs, were the depositories and bookstores, located at strategic locations to service the local societies in the region. Utica, New York, and then Louisville, Kentucky, were sites for such depositories (Boylan, 1988, pp. 51, 73).[13] The frontier, with apologies to Frederick Turner, certainly shaped the peculiar mission of the American movement and left its mark on its publishing program. In all, the ASSU and the SSU exhibited the marks of aggressive and specialized publishers, skilled in determining demand and marketing their products to their customers.

CONCLUSION

One could dwell on the suggestion that the Sunday school in England represented a particular kind of institution that provided literacy skills and cultural values to the lower classes quite independent of conscious nationalism, in contrast with American Sunday schools that seem to have been part of a developing evangelical national coalition and that saw themselves as institutional agents of change that could transform an untamed social wilderness into a Christian nation. This would be reason enough, perhaps, to chart the differences in the two institutions.

However, the goal of this discussion has been to suggest that the perceived differences in the two parallel movements can be explained by the character of religious impulses within the two national societies and

demonstrated in their somewhat different use of printed materials. A more complete and integrated study of each nation's book trade; popular reading tastes; economic relationships within the major Unions, their sister denominational organizations, and their local units; and the interrelationship of the movements with the mainstream of church history is surely warranted. Only then might Professor Marty be possibly satisfied! This must await another opportunity.

NOTES

1. A representative of the older classic history is Rice (1917). Another is Brown (1901). In addition to Knoff (1979), two newer and critical volumes are Laqueur (1976) and Boylan (1988). An example of a popular treatment is Lynn and Wright (1980). The manuscript sources for Sunday schools and their associated organizations are generally scattered in denominational and association archives or in research libraries. The most fruitful mine of material for the United States is the archival collection of the American Sunday-School Union, housed at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia (see Sokolosky, 1980).
2. The first part of this thesis, long held by the author, is also suggested by Boylan (1988, pp. 166-169). The second part seems plausible from my own observation.
3. Rice (1917), sect. II of chapter entitled "The Sunday-School in America," particularly pp. 44-48 and Boylan (1988), chapter I entitled "The Origins of Evangelical Sunday Schools," pp. 6-21.
4. Statistical estimates are drawn from Rice (1917, p. 90); Chandler (1880, pp. 148-149) and International Sunday-School Association (1905, p. 676). From the last mentioned source above, the following worldwide statistics, prepared for the 1904 World's Sunday-School Convention in Jerusalem, appear: Sunday schools—262,131; teachers—2,426,888; scholars—22,739,323; total—25,614,916.
5. See Davies (1970, p. 31) for an extended sampling of the multiplicity of specialized societies established in Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
6. Boylan (1988, p. 13) records that May, among his other achievements, worked with the Evangelical Society in Philadelphia (founded in 1807) that enabled one flourishing Sunday school to become the First African Presbyterian Church in the city.
7. These themes derive from the major critical works cited above and appear throughout the literature. Like other social institutions of the nineteenth century, the Sunday school has attracted revisionist historians as well as the newer schools of ideologically oriented historians. Its role and the role of its promoters has thus undergone scrutiny, the outcome dependent largely on the sources of evidence one chooses to emphasize and to which to attach the most credibility. For example, see McLeod (1978, pp. 245-255).
8. Boylan (1988, pp. 166-170) cites both Laqueur (1976) and Knoff (1979). Research findings are continually being scrutinized and refined. Laqueur's finding of increasing working class involvement with Sunday school has been challenged as in R. K. Webb's (1977, pp. 1250-51) review.
9. For an extensive survey of literacy issues of this period, see Graff (1987, pp. 260-372). Boylan (1988, p. 167) suggests that only during Reconstruction did American Sunday schools exert a force for basic literacy among former slave populations.
10. Both Laqueur (1976, pp. 203-18) and Boylan (1988, pp. 48-52, 71-77) treat publications and their use, as does Rice (1917, pp. 139-87). A classic study of the general topic that treats the role of Sunday schools in context is Altick (1957, pp. 67-69). The deposit collection of materials published by the American Sunday-School Union during its 150 years, consisting of nearly 10,000 items, is located at the Philadelphia Free Library and is being cataloged to facilitate the research that it deserves.
11. A selection of these books are in the collection of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, as well as other repositories. The classic treatment of the general subject is Tebbel (1972-1981). See volume I (1972), *The creation of an industry, 1630-1865*, pp.

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190-195 for children's books; pp. 508-30 for religious publishing; especially pp. 530-42 for children's book publishing that deals with ASSU publications; and vol. 2 (1975), *The expansion of an industry, 1865-1919*, pp. 596-601 for a note on children's book publishing.

[12] Briggs (1961, pp. 171-72); Keller (1942, pp. 731-39); Boylan (1988, pp. 48-50). Laqueur (1976, pp. 117-18) mentions the 4,000 volume library at the noteworthy Stockport Sunday school. See also Kelly (1966, pp. 201-02).

[13] *Catalog of Books*, prepared under the direction of E.A. Packard by R. G. Barnwell (manuscript ledger of the ASSU Publications Committee, ©1860) at the Presbyterian Historical Society, contains 23 categories into which hundreds of titles are listed, showing the wide range of topics that Sunday-school publishing dealt with.

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The Library is a Valuable Hygienic Appliance

David M. Hovde

INTRODUCTION

Soon after the Civil War began, it became clear that civilian agencies were needed to fill the void in providing aid and assistance to men in uniform. National and state bureaucracies were not unconcerned but rather overextended and unprepared for a military force numbering in the hundreds of thousands rather than the prewar army of 16,000. As one civilian put it:

> It is one of the fortunate peculiarities in our American life that when great evils force themselves upon the public attention as requiring immediate and practical remedy, earnest and thoughtful men are to be found who generally, by means of some formal organization, determine, with more or less force, to grapple with them.
>
> The evils themselves were so glaring, the danger from them to health and efficiency of the army so imminent, and the Government apparently so helpless to provide an adequate remedy, that it was determined by some enlightened men . . . to try the experiment of infusing some of the popular enthusiasm and popular sympathy into the cumbrous machinery of Government. (Stille, 1866, pp. 34-35)

"Earnest and thoughtful men" were not the only ones to initiate relief efforts. In the North, women's sewing circles, town meetings, and church societies were poised for immediate conversion to "Soldier's Aid Societies" (Macdonald, 1988, p. 98). Moreover, most of the leading chapters of the prewar national level benevolent societies were in cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Initial relief efforts, full of patriotic fervor, lacked unified organization or specific goals. Chicago volunteer Mary Livermore recalled housewives who "rifled their store-rooms and preserve-closets of canned fruits and pots of jam and marmalade which they packed with clothing and blankets, books and stationery" (Jackson, 1985, p. 119). Often these hasty efforts met with disastrous results.

> Day before yesterday we rec'd our boxes of goodies from Wisconsin. They were in a pitiable plight. Jars & cans of fruit smashed & run all over everything

> else—bread, cakes, pies turkeys, cheese, & c. & c. moldy & rotten—whew! (Stevens, 1984, p. 89)

Another worker complained that the volunteers left "with their Bibles, bandages, food—whatever they could get together, through the support of their local church" (Smith, 1959, p. 66).

Organizations like the Bridgeport Aid Society formed on the same day Lincoln issued the call for state militia on April 15, 1861. The Bunker Hill Society of Charleston, Massachusetts, and another in Cleveland, Ohio, formed five days later with the Concord Society and the Philadelphia Society following on April 23rd and April 26th respectively. Hundreds of thousands of women in the North organized more than 10,000 such societies by war's end (Young, 1959, p. 67).

Southerners established similar organizations. Their efforts were initially handicapped, however, by a rural society with its inconvenient distances between plantation homes, the absence of a substantial middle class accustomed to volunteer work, and a gender status that differed from that of the North. Southern women were not expected to assume responsibilities outside the home, such as attending meetings and working in large organizations (Young, 1959, p. 68; Macdonald, 1988, pp. 98, 116).

CAMP AND BLOCKADE

During winter months, when the war all but ceased on land, boredom, homesickness, and despondency threatened to make camp life intolerable. One witness noticed that, "nostalgia—that scourge of camps—appear [sic] in stubborn and alarming form" (DeLeon, 1890, p. 140). Without action, troops became disillusioned with their cause (Wiley, 1981a, p. 152). Wintertime desertions were high.

> Camplife, such as we have been compelled to endure for months past, becomes to the American Soldier very heavy and monotonous. Our boys seem not only waiting, but anxious for something to turn up. (Stewart, 1865, p. 298)
>
> These former civilians that once had been accustomed to stated hours of business and recreation, and whose minds were accustomed to some exercise and excitement, naturally drooped in the monotony of a camp knee in mire . . . . (DeLeon, 1890, pp. 140-41)

For the man of the forecastle, life was not unlike that of a soldier. He formally signed away his freedom of action (Hohman, 1956, p. 20). His duties, obligations, and responsibilities were specific and regimented. Lack of contact with the outside world was far more severe for the seaman than for the soldier. The daily routine generally followed a cycle of

four hours on, four hours off. The "dog watch," the time below deck, ranged from uninsulated sailing vessels to ironclads which became so oppressively hot and humid that condensed moisture ran "in streams from their bulkheads" and, occasionally, engine fumes would drive men to the deck (Merrill, 1956, p. 51; Keeler, 1964, p. 30). Contemporary ships offered little in the way of privacy, and noise from the crew on deck allowed little rest for those below. For those on blockade duty, boredom was a common malady punctuated with the excitement of the chase when an occasional blockade runner was sighted.

> Our men are getting very uneasy for the want of a run on shore. Some have been near a year shipped, and have had no liberty. Rather tough for men who call themselves free.
>
> At last there is some chance of the men getting on shore. The old doctor has come to the wise conclusion that the health of the men demand it. Two hundred men in a ship of one thousand tons, and getting liberty only once a year. Think of it, you who live on shore, and then no wonder a sailor runs wild when he get on shore. (Jones, 1960, p. 249)

Officers did little to alleviate the problem. For too many of them, command during the Civil War was simply a matter of discipline, drill, and fight. Those who gave any thought to recreation for the troops under their command regarded such activities as extraneous, if not unbecoming, to their station (Wiley, 1981a, pp. 152-53).

Consequently troops had plenty of time on their hands. Diversions such as drinking, gambling, and being absent without leave were common activities even though they incurred severe punishments. Long stretches of inactivity were new to the farmers and laborers who filled the ranks. Another wrote, "we have no duty on this day. It therefore seems long with nothing to do. Why this is the worst (disease) any person can have" (Cummins & Hohweiler, 1981, pp. 154-55).

Reading offered the hope of temporary escape. The soldiers read "everything that we can get" (Lynch, 1915, p. 36). One soldier "longed more for something to read than for something to eat" (Wiley, 1981, p. 153). For another: "There was no novel so dull, trashy, or sensational as not to find someone so bored with nothing to do that he would not wade through it. The mind was hungry for something, and took husks when it could get nothing better" (Billings, 1888, p. 65). In Libby Prison, prisoners of war eagerly awaited their chance to read two texts on English grammar (Koch, 1918, p. 3). A Norwegian immigrant in the Union army wrote:

> I received . . . an armload of newspapers—among them a half score of copies of "Emigranten." . . . As soon as "Emigranten" arrives there are always many

> hands to grab for it. Everyone want to see it, and some want to be the first to do so. However, the condition imposed is that he who gets it must read it aloud to his comrades in the same tent, so that all may have a chance to devour it at the same time. (Widwey, 1861, 7 October)

In their desperation, soldiers found various means to procure literature. One chaplain witnessed soldiers,

> At some of the stockades on the lower part of the road . . . put a board on a post, silently asking passengers to "DROP A PAPER." At one place they have printed, in large capitals, on the white side of a poncho or gum blanket, "PLEASE DROP PAPERS." As the train approaches, two of them hold up the request, and, if need be, shake it to secure attention. The papers once thrown off, there is a race who will first get them, and then all gather around for the news and good reading they contain. (Moss, 1868, p. 708)

A Connecticut soldier described another method:

> Ten minutes from camp, toward town, is a pump where we are obliged to go for water. Good water. A great meeting place for the people and soldiers. News of the day is talked over. It is known as the news pump. Newspapers are not very plentiful. They come from Baltimore and Ohio. Those who are first at the pump in the morning bring the news and stories that can be picked up, and are soon circulated through camp. So we look for the morning news from the pump. (Lynch, 1915, p. 148)

At least one enterprising soldier recognized the need and took advantage of it. He wrote, "this morning when I came in I found a large lot of papers for me. During the day I have dispensed of most of them. Have more than got my money back" (Cummins & Hohweiler, 1981, p. 78). Another, recognizing the potential lack of reading material, wrote in a letter home: "Please send me the *Daily Wisconsin* when it comes. I have written to Frank to send one copy of the *Tribune*—reading matter will be worth having down there I presume" (Stevens, 1984, p. 25). Others procured books by liberating them from Southern libraries (Powell, 1961, pp. 73-82).

Some efforts to obtain and distribute reading material were more systematic. According to the 1821 General Regulations for the Army, taxes on the post sutler supported libraries but they also supported soldiers, indigent widows and orphans of officers, disabled military personnel not subject to pensions, schools for soldiers' children, and even the expenses of the bake house and the post band (United States War Department, 1821, p. 72, art. 42, par. 11-14). However, with no other provisions or central authority, libraries on permanent posts varied in size and quality. The funding for post libraries was dropped in 1857 but restored in 1861 (United States War Department, 1861, p. 35, par. 200). Some regiments not stationed in permanent military posts with existing libraries, formed literary clubs or created libraries of their own placing

an officer or chaplain in charge (Stewart, 1865, p. 297; F. J. G., 1865, p. 30). Other enterprising units even published their own newspapers (Kaser, 1984, pp. 80-83). The Navy provided seamen's libraries from 1841 to 1845 and again beginning in 1858 (Skallerup, 1974, pp. 88-97).

Despite higher literacy rates in the North and an absence of large publishing houses, many Confederate soldiers expressed an interest in reading (Leigh, 1870, pp. 474-79; McPherson, 1988, pp. 19-20). Henry A. Chambers of North Carolina read numerous books and tracts during the war and subscribed to newspapers. Some of the former were *Biographical and Historical Sketches* by T.B. Macauley, Andrew's *Caesar*, James's *Anxious Enquirer*, *Pickwick Club*, and *Vivian Bertram or A Wife's Honor* by Reynolds. He was particularly moved by religious material provided by his chaplain. Of Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, he exclaimed: "I was much charmed with this book. O! That I could or would but apply the counsels contained therein practically to myself!" (Chambers, 1983, pp. 15, 22, 89, 94, 133, 248). Other soldiers, from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi, discussed *Gulliver's Travels*, *Arabian Nights*, *Paradise Lost*, *Les Miserables*, and *Ivanhoe* in their letters and diaries (Wiley, 1981b, pp. 161-62). They also organized regimental libraries and reading clubs (Thompson, 1898, p. 21; Vass, 1864; Jones, 1887, p. 155).

Reading and literature were generally regarded favorably, although tracts and dime novels stirred considerable controversy. The latter, "fiction of minimal literacy," aimed at young adult readers, was very popular and readily available (Blackbeard, 1988, pp. 221, 223). As a literary form, they attracted few proponents among contemporary reformers who described these stories not as inherently immoral but simply as not educational. Few dime novels provided a moral lesson, an ingredient considered by reformers as essential to high quality literature. Others felt that stories of murder and crime encouraged young readers to emulate such behavior (Denning, 1987, p. 49).

The dime novel came into its own during the Civil War. The small softbound "yellow-backs" fit well into uniform pockets and haversacks. The U.S. Christian Commission and the American Seamen's Friend Society opposed the "yellow-covered literature" (United States Christian Commission, 1866, p. 49). The agents and chaplains of these and similar organizations attempted to suppress it. One chaplain, referring to such novels as "vile trash," triumphantly traded a soldier *Pitman's Manual of Phonography* for Dick Turpin, *Pirate's Son*, *Flying Artillerist*, *Red Rover*, *Iron Cross*, *Red King*, and *Jacob Faithful* (United States Commission, 1866,

p. 51). Not all soldiers approved of the novels. Asbury L. Kerwood (1868) of Indiana wrote:

> Our camps were flooded with a class of miserable, worthless literature in the shape of novels, which were sold by the thousands. . . . men who were compelled to endure the monotonous camp-life of the army longed for some means by which their hungry appetites for reading could be satisfied. To supply this want, they were offered the chance of paying one dollar for three worthless novelettes, which contained a love story, or some daring adventure by sea or land. . . . the minds. (p. 188)

Religious tracts were also common in camps and ships. Centuries old before the war, this form of literature was aimed directly at military personnel (Skallerup, 1974, p. 20; John [Right Reverend], 1809, pp. 19, 28). Tracts attacked swearing, gambling, drinking, and smoking; they warned of the enslavement of sin and promise of salvation (U.S.C., 1861; Evangelical Tract Society, 1863; Boykin, 1861; Protestant Episcopal Book Society; Grasty, 1861). Soldiers like Henry A. Chambers of North Carolina who read *I Can't Feel and Delay*, or *Now is the Accepted Time* and Asbury L. Kerwood approved of this literature (Chambers, 1983, p. 128; Kerwood, 1868, p. 189). Chaplains on both sides glossed about the response the tracts received.

> as I drew near the camp some one would raise the cry, "Yonder comes the Bible and tract man," and such crowds would rush out to meet me, that frequently I would sit on my horse and distribute my supply before I could even get into the camp. (Jones, 1887, p. 155)

> Desperate as they were to read anything that crossed their path, not all were so charitable. Religious tracts were scattered among the soldiers by thousands, it is true, and probably did some good. I heard a Massachusetts soldier say, not long ago, that when his regiment arrived in New York en route for the seat of war, the men were presented with "a plate of thin soup and a Testament." This remark to me was very suggestive. It reminded me of the vast amount of mistaken or misguided philanthropy that was expended upon the army by good Christian men and women, who, with the best of motives urging them forward no doubt, often labored under the delusion that the army was composed entirely of men thoroughly bad, and governed their actions accordingly. (Billings, 1888, p. 65)

Another soldier believed the tracts were "first-rate to kindle fires" (Blake, 1865, p. 310).

THE SPLIT

The advent of the Civil War brought about two changes in the philanthropic efforts of privately funded organizations like the American Seaman's Friend Society (ASFS). First, these organizations, like the churches whose members supported them, were torn apart. In many cases all communication between the northern and southern offices,

ceased (American Seamen's Friend Society, 1878, p. 64). Initially, established organizations in the North suffered from uncertainty about the war's outcome and declining contributions (Beemmer, 1966, p. 295). Much of the money that normally would have gone to these organizations was channeled to local needs. As fathers and sons prepared for war, organizations formed at the church or community level (Stille, 1866, pp. 39-41; Jackson, 1985, p. 119). In the South, the auxiliaries of national organizations were forced to limit their activities or to close their doors altogether. Bibles, books, paper, and ink were not exempt from Union blockades (Lamoureux, 1966, p. 452).

The second change occurred once the "chaos of philanthropy" had settled and activities of community-based relief efforts were subsumed under larger organizations (Beemmer, 1966, pp. 299-300). The U.S. Christian Commission, the U.S. Sanitary Commission, and the Western Sanitary Commission held commanding positions and competed for funds with each other and with already well established organizations, like the American Seamen's Friend Society.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY

Among the societies that provided libraries to federal military personnel, the American Seamen's Friend Society was by far the oldest and best established. The ASFS, which did not close its offices until 1980, traced its origins to the Reverend John Truair's editorial in the July 23, 1825, issue of *The Mariner's Magazine*. Truair called for an "American Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union." It became a reality in May 1828.

The ASFS, like the YMCA and similar organizations, was created out of concerns that arose during the last decade of the eighteenth century. The Industrial Revolution had entered the American scene quickly disrupting almost every area of human life. Rural workers migrated to cities which emerged as centers of increased pollution, crime, and slums. Men, women, and children alike worked in factories, laboring long and hard and under dangerous conditions for miniscule wages. Employers expressed little concern for the safety and rights of their workers.

Concurrently with this phenomenon arose the Second Great Awakening characterized by the ubiquitous religious revival which emphasized personal morality and an individual's responsibility for the salvation of others. This movement also emphasized literacy. For the evangelicals, the ability to read the Bible was central to the spreading of the faith. Sunday schools, a product of the First Great Awakening, took on new

life. Church leaders believed that children of the poor should receive secular and religious training in order to become proper citizens of the new nation. Since these children represented the future of the nation, they should be properly educated. It was hoped the children's redemption would bring about similar results in their parents (Laqueur, 1976, p. 19). The benevolent nature of this movement expanded to include volunteer based societies that promoted such things as prison reform, temperance, abolition, abstinence from tobacco, child labor reform, and feminism. These organizations intended to keep young white and blue collar workers, who were migrating to the cities, from the evils of tavern and brothel. Many societies created reading rooms and coffee houses to attract workers away from vice and crime. Virtually all of the benevolent societies operating during the Civil War owe their origins to this national movement.

Reformers, appalled at conditions in and about the docks, considered seamen among the most base elements of society. Reformist literature compared seamen with criminals characterized by popular images of transiency, vice, and crime (Glenn, 1983). Sailors were invisible to much of America. They were most often at sea; many had no more than six weeks shore leave per year. Once on shore, sailors were exploited ruthlessly by crips, land-sharks, outfitters, boarding houses, taverns, and brothels (Hohman, 1952, pp. 265-89; Whitecare, 1860, pp. 15-17).

The ASFS attempted to alleviate these problems by improving all aspects of the lives of seamen. In its early years, the society and its auxiliaries formed banks to safeguard wages; it established clean, reasonably priced, and supervised boarding houses. It also opened chapels in American and foreign ports. The ASFS, however, remained keenly aware of its limitations due to pervasive corrupting influences while seamen were in port. The society regarded the time at sea away from these activities as an opportunity to extend its own influence through reading, with the "ridicule of shipmates, and the workings of their own sinful hearts" as the only barriers (American Seamen's Friend Society, 1829, p. 6).

In 1837, the ASFS placed its first library on a vessel leaving the port of New York, and by 1838, 80 vessels were supplied with libraries. This surge of activity quickly died however, and interest in the library program lay dormant for twenty years. By late 1858, the same year the Navy expanded its program, the Society renewed its interest in portable libraries intended for loan. In February 1859, the Society completed a plan to supply ships with letters of instructions, Bibles, hymn books, tracts,

and a small library for the forecastle (Loomis, H., "To Reverend G. Powell," Feb. 4, 1859). Soon thereafter, the ASFS solicited tract societies, booksellers, and other donors in search of materials (Loomis, H., "To Reverend G. A. Swamey," March 16, 1859; Loomis, H., "To Reverend G. Powell," Feb. 4, 1859, p. 207). By the end of the fiscal year 1860-61, 123 libraries had been placed on ships.

The libraries of this period were described as: "Miscellaneous libraries, . . . costing (donors) five to twenty dollars" (American Seamen's Friend Society, 1859, inside back cover advertisement). The cost range depended on the amount of material the Society was required to purchase. At the same time, the Society collected tracts, religious newspapers, and "proper second-hand and shop-worn books, from which source we have heretofore been able largely to supply our libraries to great pecuniary advantage" (*Sailor's Magazine and Seamen's Friend*, 1866, p. 114).

Even while relying on donations, the American Seamen's Friend Society created a collection development policy. It has been preserved on a careworn, hand-written, unsigned document, perhaps prepared by John S. Pierson, ASFS's librarian at the time (Analysis of Ship's Library for Merchant Vessel, 1864). The policy specified that two-thirds to three-fourths of the books should be religious in nature. Each library must include a Bible, a Bible dictionary, a volume on infidelity, a volume on universalism, a book of instructions for inquirers, a book of instructions for professors, and a volume of sermons. Other religious books included works in biography, history, and works of fiction including John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and at least three to five volumes of foreign language material representing three different European languages. The secular literature included an almanac; a book on health, with recipes for a proper diet; and one or two books of science preferably in natural philosophy or astronomy. The library also contained a history of the United States and travel literature with two or three volumes of interest to sailors. Finally, each library was to contain one or two volumes of biography and lighter reading. Many also contained books designed to improve the literacy of blacks and non-English speakers.

Each of the ASFS libraries contained between 40 and 50 books, typically 6 2/3 inches in height or smaller. The library case, commonly known as the "little red box," remained the Society's trade mark until World War II. References to the size of the wooden boxes describe a neat case 13 x 26 inches (American Seamen's Friend Society, 1890; American Seamen's Friend Society, 1896, p. 3). The oldest extant library, #449, which was

first sent out prior to 1865, measured 13.5 x 26.875 x 6.125 inches. It has three shelves and a hinged front door with a latch.

The libraries could be returned or exchanged at the end of a voyage; they were handled by a "colporteur" or missionary librarian who was a member of the crew. Each library included a questionnaire about the activities of the "librarian missionary" and the use of the library. Instructions specificed that the library did not belong to the ship or the librarian but rather was property of the Society. Books should be used freely; they should not be stolen or mutilated. "Knowledge is power" the instruction concluded. "Bear a hand and help us and yourselves, and you can have that power." A librarian's report form, to assess the impact of the library on the crew, accompanied the questionnaire. The report requested: the library number, the name of the ship, the port of receipt and the year, number of crew, number of readers, number of books read, names of the books that were most popular, number signing the "Ship Mate Temperance Pledge," number who swore off swearing, number seemingly improved, number of religious services held, number of awakenings, number of hopeful conversions, and number of professing Christians.

The Society received numerous letters from officers and crew. August Adler (1862), an officer on a mortar schooner wrote:

> The books were read on the passage to Key West, more than any other by officers and men, and that with great interest, with profit to many and to the benefit of all. From that time the books have been coming and going every day, not only to men of our own vessel, but of every neighboring vessel, when they are not so fortunate as to have a Library. (p. 30)

Not all the hundreds of libraries sent to the Navy were so well received. The librarian aboard the U.S. Gunboat Huntress of the Mississippi flotilla in 1865 wrote the word "none" after each question on the report form despite the fact that 50 of a crew of 115 had borrowed books (ASFS Loan Library Report, 1865). Not all libraries made it back to port. One ship, holed by shore battery fire while passing Fort Jackson, noted that "four large holes were thus made in the ship's sides, which could be covered with a blanket. Not a vestige of the Library remains. Another would, therefore, be very acceptable" ("A Library Destroyed by Shot and Shell," 1862, p. 108).

CONNECTICUT CHAPLAINS' AID COMMISSION

War relief for soldiers was at first organized at the local and state levels. Many claimed that this sort of effort was unmanageable.

> Commission agents rather than local agents (should) aid any needy in the battle fields rather than "losing golden moments, in searching here and there for men, who, in a time of peace, gladly brought their talents within the limits of a State boundary. . . ." (Macdonald, 1988, p. 99)

One state organization in Connecticut exemplified the experience of many others. However, the library program developed by the Connecticut Chaplains' Aid Commission was unique. In January 1862, the Reverend L.W. Bacon began organizing an interdenominational commission to supply Connecticut troops with chapel-tents, circulating libraries, newspaper delivery, and assistance for regimental chaplains. Reverend Bacon worried that Connecticut troops would miss the literary and religious privileges to which they were accustomed (Croffut & Morris, 1868, pp. 182-83).

Not long after the initial development of the organization, Bacon left the state and his secretary Francis Wayland, who would later become dean of the Yale Law School, took command (Quenzel, 1951, pp. 218-30). Wayland and John M. Morris began soliciting aid for Connecticut's ten regiments then in the field and, along with monetary contributions, the Commission collected hundreds of books and thousands of periodicals. Each regiment was furnished with a circulating library of 75 to 125 volumes. The libraries were housed in wooden book cases with handles and locks for easy shipping. Each library contained a numbered catalog and a "property of" label. Of the donated books, only those of "high character and great variety" and in good condition were selected. To assure that the libraries contained the "newest and freshest" material, Wayland purchased 250 volumes to supplement the donation (Croffut & Morris, 1868, p. 184).

Apparently the libraries were well received. One chaplain wrote:

> The much selected stock was gone in two hours after I had opened the box. Since that time, the delivery and return of books has occupied several hours a day. Dickens has a great run. The tales by Miss Edgeworth and T.S. Arthur are very popular. The Army and Navy Melodies are hailed with delight. . . . (The) day before yesterday, I received a box of pamphlets from the Commission. There were half a dozen men ready to open the box, and twenty more at hand to superintend the process and share the contents. The demand for reading is four times the supply. (Croffut & Morris, 1868, p. 184)

In July 1862, members of the Commission concluded that, since tract societies and soldiers' aid groups were supplying the troops with reading material, its own services should be discontinued.

THE WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION

The Western Sanitary Commission was created primarily by Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah in St. Louis, Missouri. He had served in various reform movements and relief organizations since arriving in that city in 1834.

In the 1840s, he was a strong voice in developing and strengthening the public school system. He was appointed president of the school board and he helped found the Washington Institute, later Washington University. In 1852, he was elected president of the Institution of the Blind. In 1859, he helped establish a mission for homeless women and children in response to the violence created by the Kansas-Nebraska Act (*A Summary Statement of the Objects and Principles of the St. Louis Provident Association*, 1860, Notebook 5, Reel 1 Record Group, 101/00/3). He also supported the Mercantile Library and the Young Men's Benevolent Association; with James E. Yateman and others he formed a multidenominational relief organization to assist immigrants and the urban poor (*A Summary Statement of the Objects and Principles of the St. Louis Provident Association*, 1860, Notebook 5, Reel 1 Record Group, 101/00/3).

With the outbreak of war, the number of refugees increased and new problems arose. St. Louis was flooded with soldiers, sailors, and escaped slaves. The Civil War divided not only the North and South, but in many ways increased the division of East and West. Leaders in Washington and Richmond regarded the West as a secondary problem. The war, they thought, would be fought in the East and major efforts for government-sponsored relief would remain there as well.

Both North and South were ill-prepared for the war-related problems of the western states, but in St. Louis, Eliot and his co-workers were equal to the task. In August 1861, Eliot investigated the conditions of the military hospitals in the St. Louis area, and, like many others across the North, was appalled at conditions endured by the sick and wounded. Eliot approached the likes of Jessie Benton Frémont, wife of the area military department commander, and Dorothea Dix, and General Frémont himself to gain support in forming a sanitary commission (Parrish, 1990, p. 19; Frémont, 1861, Notebook 5). General Frémont created the Western Sanitary Commission by signing General Order #159 on September 5, 1861. Thus chartered, the Commission was created under the authority of the Federal Government to work with the army to establish hospitals

to improve sanitary needs and general condition of the troops. The Commission also promoted the moral and social welfare of the men in camp and hospital "as needed and cannot be furnished by Government Regulation," but these were programs funded through private, rather than public, sources (Western Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 1; Frémont, 1861, notebook 5).

The Commission promoted itself with sanitary fairs, newspaper articles, and handbills. The Commission quickly expanded beyond St. Louis throughout the Western theater, and establishing hospitals in other cities plus fourteen hospital ships. It also distributed food and clothing: thousands of blankets, sheets, pillows, towels, shirts, socks, cans of jelly, and pounds of farina. One service, frequently overlooked by Commission historians, is the distribution of reading material. The Commission distributed 18,196 books and pamphlets in its first 18 months of existence (Forman, 1864, p. 47). During June 1863, it distributed 6,004 books and pamphlets to Grant's Army investing Vicksburg and 1,850 during the months of February 1864 (Forman, 1864, p. 78; Western Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 7).

More than likely, the books and pamphlets were donated—and not selected with great care. However, they appear to have been primarily "good religious books, and other reading matter to cheer and comfort" (Forman, 1864, p. 18) including 3,000 copies of *Sargent's Standard Primer*. The Commission also supplied teachers during the fall and winter of 1863-1864 to three brigades of black soldiers under Brigadier General William A. Piles at Benton Barracks (Forman, 1864, p. 5).

The Commission supplied 75 "libraries of books" to gunboats and hospital steamers of the Mississippi River flotilla and sent similar libraries to western forts (Forman, 1864, p. 97). Two libraries were sent to the army medical director stationed at Omaha, Nebraska Territory (Western Sanitary Commission, 1866, pp. 57-58). The Commission also supplied reading rooms to some of its hospitals although the extent of this operation, including the number and type of books, merits further research (Western Sanitary Commission, 1862, p. 35).

Unlike other organizations founded because of the war, the Western Sanitary Commission continued in operation after the war was over. The Commission finally disbanded with the death of Reverend Eliot in 1886 (Parrish, 1990, p. 35).

U. S. SANITARY COMMISSION

The U. S. Sanitary Commission (USSC) was by far the largest civilian relief organization working with the Federal Government during the Civil War. The historians of the U. S. Sanitary Commission trace its founding to April 15, 1861, when a group of women from Bridgeport, Connecticut, met and organized, "a society with the somewhat vague idea of affording relief and comfort to the volunteers" (Stille, 1866, p. 39). This and similar groups became auxiliaries to the USSC. One group, exemplifying contemporary enthusiasm, proposed to supply nurses, transport wounded, provide clothing and provisions, and supply books and newspapers to the camps (Stille, 1866, p. 40).

Reverend Henry W. Bellows, Dr. Elisha Harris, and others developed a series of "principles," forming them from a broader base of local relief associations with widely conflicting and vague ideas.

> The objectives of the association were to systematize the impulsive, disorderly, and uninformed sympathies and efforts of the women of the country, so as to make effective, with the least waste of time, labor, and money, the generous and restless desire to help the young army just gathering with such supplies and protection as it was feared the government could not afford it (Bellows, 1870, pp. 1-2).

Like other Civil War relief groups, the USSC soon ran afoul of the Medical Bureau which did not want civilians interfering with military operations.

Concerns for the prevention of disease and the maintenance of sanitary conditions in the army became early issues of the USSC. It was well known at the time that, when large masses of soldiers, particularly volunteer troops, were brought together, disease rather than armed conflict claimed the most lives. As early as May 1861, the Surgeon-General of the Army proposed "a commission of Inquiry and Advice in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces" to act in cooperation with the Medical Bureau (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 3).

Lincoln signed a warrant on June 13th ordering "a Commission of Inquiry and Advice, in respect of The Sanitary Interest of the United States Forces" to look after the health of the Union forces (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 7). Once in operation, the Commission formed auxiliaries to collect money and supplies (i.e., ice, shirts, food, socks, and medicine), managed soldiers' homes for transient sick, and helped with paperwork and pay claims.

The Commission attempted to improve the physical health of the Union troops with methods that were systematic and structured. It regarded as indispensable "what is so foolishly stigmatized as red tape—meaning order and method . . ." (Bellows, 1870, p. 6).

The USSC's efforts to provide reading material were tertiary at best. The organizational skills used in their other activities were not evident in their distribution of reading material. The books appear to have been random contributions sent to hospital libraries. For example, the Boston branch in 1863 sent 66 cases of books and pamphlets to the USSC (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 268). Among the supplies on the steamer Lancaster No. 4 were 310 books and three boxes of magazines (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 34). In the West, the USSC, by September 1863, had distributed 233,000 books and pamphlets, and over 8,000 books and pamphlets were distributed to the wounded at the Nashville Depot by October 1, 1863 (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, pp. 165, 179). The Commission also claimed to have designed and built railroad ambulance cars with drawers specifically for books and newspapers (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 110).

Most of the USSC's activities were land based. In fact, the Commission admitted to the comparative infrequency of service to Naval personnel "whenever any want of the sick and wounded upon gunboats and ships of war have come to the knowlege of the Commission, its agents have rendered all the relief in their power." The Commission also claimed to have given hospital supplies to Union gunboats on the Mississippi and other rivers. Whether or not books were included is a matter for further research (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 238).

Like the American Seamen's Friend Society, the Commission developed portable libraries although little is known about their numbers. The libraries were composed of professional medical books numbering 18 volumes designed specifically for medical officers. Titles included: *Report on Military Hygiene and Therapeutics, Report on Amputations Through Foot and at the Ankle Joint, Report on the Nature and Treatment of Miasmatic Fevers,* and *Control and Prevention of Infectious Diseases* (United States Sanitary Commission, 1864, p. 298).

THE U.S. CHRISTIAN COMMISSION

The United States Christian Commission (USCC), formed on the 14th of November 1861 by YMCA representatives from fifteen cities, was the brain child of Vincent Colyer, who would later become its president.

George Hay Stuart, a Philadelphia dry goods merchant, was its first head. From its Philadelphia headquarters, the Commission directed several auxiliaries and field offices which in turn organized the relief efforts of hundreds of local committees and served as distribution centers. The USCC established a system of delegates, usually unpaid clergy or laymen, who enlisted for a minimum of six weeks. One or more of these individuals were attached to each of the federal divisions as field agents to facilitate the work of regimental chaplains and subordinates, establish stations, obtain shelter and materials, order supplies, and prepare progress reports for the Commission. Unlike the Western Sanitary Commission and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the main thrust of the USCC was for the moral and spiritual development and the physical well-being of Union soldiers and sailors.

Like its counterparts, the Commission began to provide reading material by distributing second-hand tracts, newspapers, and books, many of them of dubious quality. One delegate, lacking alternatives, distributed tracts on the "condition and duties" of women (Jordan, 1935, p. 117). Given the lack of quality control, "the feeling grew that the soldiers deserved the freshest and best that could be secured" (Moss, 1868, pp. 685-86). Rather than relying on supporters' donations, the Commission began purchasing the material it planned to distribute. Once the Commission had succeeded at uniformity, procured the latest editions, and increased the quality of material, it still attracted criticism for concentrating on religious rather than secular materials.

In August 1863, Reverend J.C. Thomas, chaplain of the Eighty-eighth Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, joined the USCC. Under his direction, more secular books, magazines, and newspapers were made available to the Union forces. His most important contribution was to create a portable library system. Extremely energetic, Thomas traveled to a number of cities and talked to high-ranking military officials and business leaders. To gain further support from the public, he published his plan in handbills, booklets, and newspapers. Thomas modeled his plan for the portable library system on two other operations one of them created by Chaplain Haigh of the 36th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment whose system included 11 libraries each in cubic-foot-sized boxes. There Haigh planned one each for the ten companies and one for the field grade officers and designed the boxes to fit on regimental supply wagons (Thomas, 1863). Thomas also studied the previously described portable library system devised by the American Seamen's Friend Society (Thomas, 1865, p. 49).

As early as the summer of 1863, Thomas had been meeting with other chaplains, attended the YMCA convention in Chicago, and visited 25 publishers in New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, to gain support for his program (Thomas, 1863; Thomas, 1865). He finalized plans for his system in early 1864. As with previous programs, he convinced the publishers to offer the Commission the books at half price. Backlists from about 100 publishers were considered for these libraries. With the approval of the Secretary of War, Edwin McMasters Stanton, the army supplied construction materials for the library cases and built them at government expense (Thomas, 1865, p. 47; Miller, 1864). The Adams Express Company agreed to ship the completed libraries free of charge.

A total of 215 libraries were built containing 125 volumes each. Another 70 contained 75 volumes each. The larger library cases were three feet square and eight inches deep. The four shelves were designed to fit books that were ranging in height from 6.5 to 10.5 inches. The front hinged door panels, opened at the center, were labeled "U.S. Christian Commission Loan Library" and numbered. The subject matter of the books included history, biography, poetry, fiction, science, religion, and the like. Carefully chosen, these books were intended for moral and spiritual improvement. Thomas refused all yellow-covered literature, "lives of pirates and highwaymen, works against Christ and country, . . . all little children's books, unusable incomplete works, (and) controversies among Christian denominations" (Thomas, 1865, p. 49). He sought literature "as comprehensive as the aims of life—a truth-filled literature whose golden light and genial warmth shall penetrate the individual, social, domestic, political, industrial, and pleasurable activities, and make them healthful and fruitful in all Heaven-approved usefulness and happiness" (Thomas, 1863, p. 1). Each library included a catalog arranged alphabetically by author and was numbered, with an additional space for 35 more books. A portable card catalog was available for the convenience of bedridden patients.

The Commission loaned libraries to hospitals, camps, depots, gunboats, and deep-sea naval vessels for indefinite periods. Chaplains or officers were given charge of the library and required to sign a statement pledging faithfully to care for the library and report monthly on its condition and use. Ledgers were provided to record user statistics. The reports were sent to the general library agent who monitored the location and status of each library. Typically reports were impressionistic.

> Hospital 14, Nashville, Tenn. Report for November, 1864, by Chaplain W. Allington. Library 1. Volumes drawn, two hundred and thirty-seven; volumes

> host, none. Scarcely a book has been read without some commendation being expressed, and the reader, when asked, has never failed to utter his high appreciation of the entire programme of providing such valuable aids for the improvement of time. The "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation" has especially been appreciated; "Lossing's History of the United States" has been frequently called for; "Irving's Sketches," "Shakespeare's Readings," "Cotta Family," "Goodrich's Library," and "Sargent's Temperance Tales," have afforded intense delight. The library has begotten [contentment], lessened rambling through the city, created devotional feeling, increased the number of our religious services, and attendance thereon; in short, renders hospital life, to all concerned, more happy, and duty more pleasant. (Moss, 1868, pp. 721-22)

The libraries were circulated until the end of the war. The last ones were delivered in February 1867 (Brougham, "To Reverend J. C. Thomas," 1867). After ceasing its operations, the Commission donated libraries to the government. Enough of the libraries survived to supply them to approximately 50 military posts and 25 Naval vessels.

CONFEDERATE EFFORTS

Southern efforts to supply reading material to men in uniform were stymied throughout the war due to an inadequate publishing infrastructure and a tradition of dependence on England and the Northern states for literature (DeLeon, 1890, p. 288; Latourette, 1966, p. 452; Jones, 1887, p. 148). For example, the majority of titles in the 145 volume library of the 27th Virginian Infantry of the Stonewall Brigade were from Northern Bible and tract societies (Vass, 1864). Adding insult to injury, this collection included *The Life of John Newton;* Newton had composed the hymn "Amazing Grace." After years as a slave trader, he had a religious experience that eventually led him to become an abolitionist.

The strongest southern auxiliary of the American Bible Society was Virginia (Latourette, 1966, p. 452). Thus, the most successful of the Confederate efforts was associated with the Army of Northern Virginia. During the war, literature was obtained for the Army of Northern Virginia through local sources, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Bible Society via auxiliaries in Maryland (Latourette, 1966, p. 452; Jones, 1887, pp. 150, 171). Realizing that the main supply of reading material for the troops would have to come from outside sources, the Confederate Bible Society appealed to the British and Foreign Bible Society which responded with an initial credit of £3,000 sterling for supplies as well as donations of Bibles and Testaments. During the war, several other attempts were made to solicit funds and to collect religious literature in England. Reverend M.D. Hoge, for example, collected 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 New Testaments, and a quarter million other

publications; many of these, however, were captured in the Federal blockade. Due to the paucity of literature, even bloodstained Bibles recovered from the field were redistributed (Jones, 1887, pp 151-52, 154).

Despite the lack of a publishing empire, numerous tracts and other publications were eventually produced in the South. In 1862, the General Association of the Baptist Churches in Virginia published 40 tracts totaling 6,187,000 pages. The Evangelical Tract Society of Petersburg, in the first year of its existence, issued more than 100 different tracts totaling over 1 million pages. The Presbyterian Board of Publication, The Virginia Episcopal Mission Committee, The Soldiers' Tract Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church-South, The Georgia Bible and Colportage Society, The South Carolina Tract Society, as well as presses in Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Charleston, Augusta, Mobile, Macon, and Atlanta, all produced literature for Confederate servicemen (Jones, 1887, pp. 156-60).

CONCLUSION

Reading emerged as an important feature of the soldier's and seaman's daily life. Newspapers kept readers informed of the progress of the war and events at home. Classics reminded the educated of civilization beyond the mud and disease, and the dime novels offered light action in a format that fit well in the pocket and a length that fit easily into a soldier's or seaman's day. Tracts and Testaments reminded them of religious obligations and lifted many of them beyond the horrors of war.

Several organizations provided reading material to the fighting men on both sides. The Northern Societies enjoyed greater success due to advantages that existed prior to the war. The national organizations, the U.S. Christian Commission, the American Seamen's Friend Society, the Western Sanitary Commission, and the U.S. Sanitary Commission all provided this service at various levels.

Little evidence exists concerning the Western Sanitary Commission's provision of material to troops and the Mississippi River floatilla. The U.S. Sanitary Commission provided libraries to their hospitals and to hospital railroad cars, but little is known of the contents of those collections. The USSC provided the most sophisticated, uniform, and specialized libraries of all the organizations in the form of surgeon's libraries, but these collections were not created for fighting men.

By far the largest and most developed library programs were those of the evangelical societies. The U.S. Christian Commission and the society

after which Thomas modeled his program, the American Seamen's Friend Society, were dedicated to saving men's souls and improving their moral character. A plea from the USCC stated:

> GOOD READING MATERIAL.—Send no trash. Soldiers deserve the best. A library is a valuable hygienic appliance. For the able-bodied, good public documents are mental and spiritual food. For convalescents, lively, interesting books, the monthlies, the pictorials, works of art, science, and literature, as well as those for moral and spiritual culture, such as you would put into the hand of a brother recovering. (United States Christian Commission, 1863, p. 55)

Reformers viewed reading as a critical activity, the most efficient method of spreading their message of national salvation. They believed that truth, if widely disseminated, would set people free (Curti, 1964, p. 336). The educated literate masses then would not only rise above their own condition but elevate society as a whole. To further this approach, the USCC and the ASFS also provided the means to combat illiteracy among those they served. The libraries these organizations provided contained material supporting their message but also discouraged soldiers and sailors from devoting leisure time to less gainly pursuits such as drinking, gambling, and related vices. Chaplains and reformers knew their audiences well. As one chaplain wrote: "It is difficult to get the soldier to attend regular preaching, but he will read a tract, and in the tedium of camp-life nothing is more acceptable" (Jones, 1887, p. 166). The ASFS recognized that the best place to reform seamen was at sea, because there they had a captive audience. "(the library) furnishes the (colporter) with the means of exerting a moral and religious influence on the crews at sea . . ." ("The Ship Library Enterprise," 1863, p. 125). One seaman wrote: "The first two months the crew seemed to be afraid of them, till all the novel and bad books were read, when they all found delight in reading the library books" (C.W., 1862, p. 62).

The organized provision of portable libraries to military personnel by civilian benevolent societies decreased with the mustering out of the vast military machine of the Civil War. The U.S. Christian Commission sent its last library out in 1867 (Bougham "To Reverend J. C. Thomas," 1867). The American Seamen's Friend Society, however, continued its library efforts until 1867 but decreased its service to the military after the Civil War. Between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, little was done in this area by large benevolent societies. One organization, the United Military Post Library Association, produced glowing annual reports of its activities in the 1870s (United States Military Post Library Association, 1872). Its reported goals were not unlike those of the U.S. Christian Commission. Despite the receipt of large sums of

money, $22,000 in 1875 for example, and claims of the distribution of tens of thousands of books, periodicals, and tracts, little or no evidence of the activity exists (*Army and Navy Journal*, 1876, p. 403; *Army and Navy Journal*, 1871, p. 459). An investigation by the War Department in 1885 indicated a "gigantic hoax had been perpetrated" (White, 1968, p. 490). With the onset of the Spanish-American War, organizations such as the YMCA once again provided library services. The YMCA and the American Library Association also provided extensive programs during World War I (Young, 1981). The American Merchant Marine Library Association was developed from ALA activities during World War I and still provides library services to both the merchant marine and some military vessels.

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Wide Awakening: Political and Theological Impulses for Reading and Libraries at Oberlin College, 1883-1908

John Mark Tucker

In June 1888, John R. Commons, an Oberlin College senior and editor of the *Oberlin Review*, observed a "wide awakening" among Oberlinians to the "enthusiastic spirit" of scholarship, improved teaching methods, and higher standards for student performance; the college was pushing itself "to the front rank of scholarship and learning" (*Oberlin Review*, 1888, pp. 229-30). The sense of urgency on behalf of a more profound intellectual life and a broadening consensus for scholarly pursuits stimulated advances in how books, libraries, and reading were influencing Oberlin. In the period from 1883 to 1908, the college underwent a major transformation, one that would alter forever the way faculty were trained and recruited, the methods for instructing students, and the criteria by which Oberlin College defined its special contribution to higher education and its place in society. The 25 years under consideration could not possibly contain all the significant trends that undergirded a transforming emphasis on reading, books, and libraries. But the period captures some of those trends—offering convenient lines of demarcation—from the appointment of James Monroe, to an endowed chair in political science in 1883, to the christening of a new Carnegie Library building in 1908.

Growth and change in reading tastes and intellectual interests were not unique to Oberlin, but they were marked by Oberlin's special brand of moral fervor. A strong desire to improve society had always characterized the college. Its founders established Oberlin in 1833, envisioning a college surrounded by a Christian community. Local residents referred to a "college" and a "colony" created together for related purposes. Education was the handmaid of religion; true religion was action devoted to good deeds (Fletcher, 1943, vol. 1, p. 64). These ideals became reality when Oberlin admitted African-Americans in 1835 and women in 1837 (making it the nation's first coeducational college). Oberlinians immersed themselves in abolitionist activity; earned national acclaim for work on the underground railroad; and experimented with a range of

reforms in education, social work, civil service, suffrage, prohibition, and church-related organizing. Historians of higher education described Oberlin as one of the most "individualistic and influential colleges in the land" (Schmidt, 1957, p. 30); it was the "natural outgrowth of [a] New England-type town" (Rudolph, 1990, pp. 53, 70); it bore a "special tradition of evangelical zeal and social concern" (Veysey, 1970, p. 54); its work was "unprecedented in the educational history of the English-speaking world" (Brubacher & Rudy, 1978, p. 66); by the early twentieth century it was seen as having "outgrown the image of narrow sectarianism" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 70) or, alternatively, as having eliminated "restrictive aspects of evangelical theology" while retaining "an ethos in which it [was] widely assumed" that the best education involved "relating eternal truths to contemporary concerns" (Marsden, 1994, p. 376; Warford, 1973, pp. vi-viii, 68).

My analysis of the political and theological issues that undergirded reading and libraries concentrates on six individuals who represent significant aspects of life at Oberlin. These include James Monroe (1821-1898), graduate of the college and seminary, state and federal politician, and faculty member; John R. Commons (1862-1945), an Oberlin graduate, professor, economist, and labor historian; Washington Gladden (1836-1918), a congregational minister and social gospel advocate with numerous Oberlin connections; Howard H. Russell (1855-1946), graduate of the seminary and a major prohibition organizer; Henry Churchill King (1858-1934), a graduate of the college and seminary, one of Oberlin's leading professors and presidents, and an important contemporary theologian; and Azariah Smith Root (1862-1927), an Oberlin graduate, professor, and library director.

These six, and the accounts of their interactions each with the other and within the larger Oberlin community, offer insight into the political and theological impulses that drove intellectual interests. Their stories, while exploring connections to reading and libraries, treat primarily the role of politics and religion as motivating factors. Their life-span exceeded 78 years; the average birth year—1850—and the average death year—1928—together indicate when our subjects flourished and when they influenced reading and libraries at Oberlin.

JAMES MONROE AND JOHN R. COMMONS: POLITICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The curtain rises on this drama in 1883 with the appointment of James Monroe at age 58 as Professor of Political Science and International

Law; one year later he became professor of Political Science and Modern History, a post he held until retirement in 1896. Monroe's Oberlin career was the stuff of local legend. A native of Plainfield, Connecticut, he was born into a Quaker family, was well-educated in public and private schools, and began teaching at age 14. William Lloyd Garrison recruited him as an antislavery lecturer, leading him to a new level of political consciousness and introducing him to other activists such as Charles C. Burleigh, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass. A special bond arose between Monroe and Douglass as they traveled together delivering their anti-slavery message throughout New England in the early 1840s. Douglass was deeply moved by Monroe's willingness to endure "all manner of privations in the cause of the enslaved and downtrodden" African-American; the powerful black agitator referred to Monroe's oratory as "the eloquence that charms and skill that disarms" (quoted in Blue, 1989, pp. 286-87).

To further his education, Monroe migrated to Oberlin, graduating from the college in 1846 and the theological seminary in 1849. Upon graduation, he remained a professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres from 1849 to 1862. But, given his political instincts and rhetorical abilities, he was naturally drawn to public service. He served as a Republican in the Ohio House of Representatives from 1856 to 1859 and the Ohio Senate from 1860 to 1862; he was president pro tempore of the senate in 1861 and 1862. He worked as United States consul to Rio de Janeiro from 1863 to 1869 (during which time he rejected an offer to be president of Oberlin) and after which he served five consecutive terms in the U. S. House of Representatives from the district that included Oberlin (U.S. Congress, 1989, p. 1519; Fletcher, 1943, vol. I, p. 390, vol. II, p. 691; Barnard, 1969, pp. 53-56, 62-64; Brandt, 1990, pp. 49, 138, 199, 236, 239, 256).

Second only to former president Finney[1] as the most prominent and most eloquent Oberlinian of his era, Monroe raised instruction in political science and modern history to a new level, one that compared them favorably with better-established disciplines. He was the first Oberlin professor to discuss modern times. Among the most popular professors of his era, he designed classes to include not only recitations from texts but also lectures and "applications of principles to existing institutions and current events" (quoted in Barnard, 1969, p. 54).

Monroe's message was conventional for his period, but his method of teaching was innovative. In 1887, he established the Political Economy Club to give students the opportunity to investigate topics more

thoroughly than otherwise possible. The club met weekly throughout the academic year—members prepared essays on current or historical issues and, in turn, were criticized by Monroe and the other students. In 1894, the faculty approved a seminar on political economy thus transferring club activities into the regular curriculum.

The material for student reading in the 1880s—for the Political Economy Club, for oratorical contests, for the exercises conducted by literary societies—reflected an "unease over injustices in American society and threats to social equilibrium" (Barnard, 1969, p. 55). Students examined intemperance, public morals, religious bigotry, municipal politics, and immigration in the context of urbanization that had been spurred by industrial development. They read about poverty, and they wrote essays and poems, some of them sentimental, on the working-class life of long hours, low pay, and unsafe conditions. Students charged the Protestant denominations with hypocrisy and complacency in the face of a disintegrating society. It seemed to them that the wealthy urban churches neglected serious human need and undermined the Protestant message by failing to reach out to a growing underclass. The students called attention to social disunity, deploring the sharp division between rich and poor and offering a range of prescriptive responses (Barnard, 1969, pp. 57-60).[2]

Although traditional student pursuits made themselves as evident at Oberlin as at any other college, they tended to yield the public forum to those who had become sensitized to social issues. "Literary society and oratorical contest programs became so laden with discussions of current political, social, and economic controversies, that the failure to include any oration on such matters in the Home Oratorical Contest of 1887 was thought notable and refreshing" (Barnard, 1969, p. 64). Students, spurred in part by James Monroe, were leading the way in transmitting the social conscience of the college, in exploring new ideas, and in considering new forms of public service.

To facilitate their inquiries into social conditions, students turned first to the reading materials available to them as members of literary societies. Oberlin's service ethos made it a welcome home for such groups. These were not the fraternities and sororities premised on secret rites and social activities; indeed, such groups were felt to be undemocratic. Rather, these societies held "rhetoricals," or "oratoricals"—debates and speeches on numerous topics of interest to the students themselves. The societies raised funds through membership fees, through admissions fees

to their debates, and sometimes, through fines for absenteeism. They also attracted outside speakers including Oberlin staff and faculty but also, at various times, notables such as Edward Beecher (president of Illinois College), Charles C. Burleigh (antislavery advocate), and James A. Garfield (then a member of the Ohio legislature). The societies flourished at Oberlin from the mid-1850s until well into the twentieth century, offering superb training for public life and complementing the formal curriculum yet operating outside it. Professors did not organize or lead these associations but were invited to attend, to participate in debates, and to use literary society library collections (Marion Metcalf Root, personal communication, 1 July 1980).[3]

At Oberlin, the literary societies had begun to collect books in the 1874's. Students formed the College Literary Societies' Library Association which, in 1857, established a library that soon thereafter was made a depository for U.S. government publications. Two years later, the Ladies' Society Library Association emerged, meeting with some success in obtaining book purchase discounts, and by 1874 these two groups brought their collections together as the Union Library Association (ULA) Library (Fletcher, 1943, vol. 2, pp. 763-64; Tucker, 1955, p. 93).

In the 1880s, libraries established by student literary societies, at Oberlin as elsewhere, tended to exceed those of the main college and university library with regard to physical facilities, accessibility, and currency of holdings. In this era, many society libraries throughout the nation were merged into college library collections (although at Oberlin this did not occur until 1908). Mergers usually resulted in an infusion into the college library of the most recent books and journals on contemporary political, social, and economic topics. These collections had been "adapted to the needs and wants of the student" (Martin, 1944).[4] The society libraries served and depended on intramural competition and attracted society membership.

Oberlin students regarded the ULA Library as an important resource for intersociety competition and for intellectual growth generally. They established the Book Purchase Committee to select materials and approve expenditures. The importance of this committee is apparent in the fact that the students chose Henry Churchill King as committee chair, a post he held almost every year from his undergraduate days in the 1870s until his appointment as president in 1902. In selecting reading materials, students came to rely on "more practiced judgment" than their

own but in the 1880s the disappointment with the college library (that they sometimes expressed) was "mitigated by their pride" in, and concern for, the ULA Library (Tucker, 1955, pp. 106-08; Love, 1956, pp. 51-52; Root, 1884, pp. 199-200; 1907).[3]

One of the students most actively engaged in politics, and most deeply inspired by the work of James Monroe, was John R. Commons. Commons was born in 1862 in Hollansburg, Ohio. His parents, a Quaker father and Presbyterian mother, were ardent abolitionists. His mother, Oberlin graduate Clarissa Rogers Commons, moved to the village of Oberlin and established a student boardinghouse in order to pay for her children's education. Commons described Oberlin as his "salvation"; for twenty years thereafter he did not smoke or drink, though "the first three months were terrible in giving up [his] surreptitious pipe" (Commons, 1934, p. 16. See also James, 1982, pp. 6-8).

Commons (1934) recalled having been captivated by Professor Monroe:

> When he told us about his experiences it was thrilling. When he prayed, as all did at the opening of classes, it was a familiar conversation with God. His public life had made him tolerant of the contradictory opinions of others . . . [and] tolerant of our youthful doctrinairism. (pp. 38-40)

Commons was drawn inexorably to the Political Economy Club formed when he was a senior. The club attracted, at times, as many as 50 students. As an extracurricular activity, its popularity indicates the seriousness with which "students pursued the study of society and economics" (Barnard, 1969, p. 55).

Commons experimented with economic theories even as a student. He read *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George (1879), a reformer who argued that land belongs to society which created its value and should tax the value of land only rather than improvements on it. George hoped to end poverty without destroying individual incentive. He was popular at Oberlin, and issues of equitable taxation and of private versus public ownership of land became grist for society debates. In 1887, George lectured at Oberlin on "Land and Labor," further stimulating Commons's interests. Commons and a classmate, Harold A. Weld, were given time in Monroe's class to debate George's theories which, as Commons (1934) recalled, were "all directly contrary to our Professor's Republican Party and protectionism" (p. 39). Commons, Weld, and others formed a Henry George Club which was short-lived but which initiated Commons's habit of attending single-tax meetings the remainder of his life.

Commons was becoming a more sophisticated scholar, having been attracted to George's general ideals but rejecting specific views (for example, the latter's negative opinion of labor unions). Commons studied under Richard T. Ely at Johns Hopkins University followed by professorships at Wesleyan University in Connecticut (1890-91), at Indiana (1892-95), Syracuse (1895-99), and the University of Wisconsin (1904-23). He emerged as one of the most prominent economic theorists, government consultants, and labor historians of his era.

Following his year at Wesleyan, he taught one year at Oberlin. His arrival in 1891 signaled Oberlin's commitment to the social sciences. Commons offered the institution's first courses in sociology and American history and published "A Popular Bibliography of Sociology" as an issue of the *Oberlin College Library Bulletin* (Oberlin College Library, 1936). When he left Oberlin, he was followed by J. William Black (1892-94) and Thomas N. Carver (1894-1900) who had earned doctorates at Johns Hopkins and Cornell respectively.

Teaching and research in the social sciences matured substantially in the 1890s although lectures on social science topics had begun as early as 1858 (Veysey, 1970, p. 38). Faculty and administration had broadened the curriculum during the previous two decades. William Gay Ballantine, Oberlin president from 1891 to 1896, further promoted an enlarged elective system thus widening the door of opportunity for the social sciences. The ideal for well-educated men and women would involve a taste for many subjects: ethics, the arts and humanities, laboratory sciences, languages, psychology, the social sciences, and theology. In Ballantine's view, the undergraduate college stood at the center of Oberlin with the conservatory, preparatory school, theological seminary, and graduate program holding significant, but less central positions. It was in the college that the whole person (moral, religious, and intellectual) would be made fit for public service and fit for life. To these ends the entire range of disciplinary options would be utilized (Barnard, 1969, pp. 71-72; Larson, 1976, p. 83; Cable, 1984, pp. 200, 252-59).[6]

The social sciences grew along with the college as it evolved. The Oberlin faculty was assuming its place in the world of scholarship. The pursuit of knowledge emerged as a significant responsibility. From 1891 to 1901, the percentage of Oberlin professors with an earned advanced degree jumped from 42 percent to 80 percent. Academic inbreeding also declined: over the same period, the percentage of faculty with at least one Oberlin degree dropped from 74 percent to 35 percent (Barnard, 1969,

pp. 79-81). New methods of graduate teaching and research, adapted from Germany, featured professors leading discussions that criticized and evaluated student research papers. In order to perform solid work, students needed to compare sources, some in printed and some in original form. Demands for access to stronger library collections soon followed. Students applauded the seminar methods and academic standards of German universities, urged Oberlin to follow suit, and made plans themselves to pursue research: in 1888 seven alumni from Oberlin (more than from any undergraduate college) enrolled for graduate study at Johns Hopkins (Barnard, 1969, p. 43; Cable, 1984, pp. 157-67).

The social sciences and their attendant requirements for a reading and research apparatus resulted not merely from national trends in research and higher education but also from events peculiar to Oberlin. John R. Commons envisioned a complement of courses in the social sciences greatly expanded over courses available in previous decades. He proposed a new curriculum, largely implemented by his successors, that specified advanced electives in economics, history, political science, and sociology. Despite problems engendered by financial instability and subsequent staff turnover, the social sciences flourished at Oberlin in the 1890s and infused the college community with challenging intellectual discourse.

Of equal significance, the social science disciplines succeeded at Oberlin because, in their emphasis on analyzing and correcting the ills of society, they inherited and enlarged the ideals that had set Oberlin apart from other institutions of higher learning. Oberlin's social scientists brought their university training and their professional skills to bear on contemporary social problems. Oberlinians were by no means alone in this respect—such interests characterized the emerging social sciences most everywhere that new departments of political economy or sociology were being created. At Oberlin, however, the institutional impulses to reform society were well established having been imbedded in local myths and realities. Conflicts apparent in disciplinary struggles elsewhere seemed to have little impact at Oberlin (see Haskell, 1977; Ross, 1979, pp. 107-38).

The social scientist would serve God by serving man, by examining the impact of poverty, intemperance, criminality, racial bigotry, and other problems stemming from class, labor, or family strife. The social scientist would integrate his or her knowledge into the life of the laity. John Commons proposed, for example, that Christian ministers devote at least

one-half of their pulpit time to teaching sociology, that ministers should seek to inculcate in believers a sense of social responsibility, a conviction of social sin, and an affinity for the plight of underprivileged classes. Commons had been drawn back to his alma mater, in part, due to its rich religious life. While at Oberlin, he and his colleagues had imbued their social scientific inquiries with a powerful sense of moral obligation (May, 1949, p. 139. See also Veysey, 1970, p. 80).[7]

WASHINGTON GLADDEN AND HOWARD H. RUSSELL: RELIGION AND SOCIAL ACTION

Solomon Washington Gladden was born in Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, in 1836. When he was six years of age, his father died and Gladden was reared on the farm of his uncle, Ebenezer Daniels, near Owego, New York, where he was introduced to Presbyterian and Baptist traditions. In 1859 he graduated from Williams College; Williams was one expression of many that Congregationalists had made on behalf of a learned clergy and laity. Williams's "reputation as a bastion of Congregationalism was unimpeachable" (quoted in Dorn, 1966, p. 16).[8]

With an excellent educational background, Washington Gladden took his place among the ministers of his day. He served churches in Brooklyn and in Morrisania, New York (1860-66), in North Adams and in Springfield, Massachusetts (1866-71, 1875-82), and in Columbus, Ohio (1882-1918). He was not, however, merely an earnest practitioner, but rather a researcher, writer, and popularizer—an authority on the role of the church in a rapidly changing industrialized environment. In books with titles such as *Working People and Their Employers* (1876), *Applied Christianity: Moral Aspects of Social Questions* (1886), *Tools and the Man: Property and Industry Under the Christian Law* (1893), *Social Salvation* (1902), *Christianity and Socialism* (1905), *The Church and Modern Life* (1908), and more than 100 articles, he expounded his faith in the Golden Rule and promoted its application to labor and management, politics and taxation, and racial and ecclesiastical concerns. Gladden emphasized the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Kinship rather than alienation would characterize man's search for God, a concept opposed by more conservative Protestants who regarded alienation as a necessary pre-requisite to conversion. Gladden harmonized science and religion by categorizing them into different spheres of inquiry. His tendency to experiment with practical approaches rather than theoretical constructs enhanced his popularity (Dorn, 1966, pp. 169-71, 183, 186, 200, 202; Cayton, 1988, pp. 481-497; Bowden, 1993, pp. 204-05.[9]

Gladden's writings responded to the significant issues of his age, a time when industrialization, urbanization, and immigration were altering the nation dramatically, leaving it "without a core"; it lacked "those centers of authority and information" that might have provided order and direction in the midst of such rapid change (Wiebe, 1967, p. 12). The family, the church, education, the press, the professions, and government had previously found their meaning through relationships within a town or a neighborhood in a city. By the end of the century, however, these revered institutions and the citizens they served were in a state of crisis, and citizens repeatedly expressed anxiety over labor unrest, economic depression, urban crime, and the menacing power of huge monopolies.

America's great cities, particularly those in the northeast and the midwest, became the crucible for the nation's social ills. Gladden (1909) described his initial reaction to urban life in Brooklyn, recalling the city as:

> a thing stupendous and overpowering, a mighty monster, with portentous energies; the sense of its power to absorb human personalities and to shape human destinies was often vivid and painful . . . the contact with the strenuous life of the great city was a revelation. One was standing in the centre of a galvanic field, with lines of force crossing each other in every direction. Everything was alive, yet there was a vivid sense of the impersonality and brutality of the whole movement, of the lack of coordinating intelligence. (p. 90)[3]

The national economy crashed in 1873 spurring a widespread loss of confidence. Four years later, railroad wage cuts precipitated pitched battle between police and crowds of angry displaced workers; rail centers like Baltimore and Pittsburgh became scenes of arson and bloodshed. On May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded in Chicago killing seven police, wounding 60 others, and precipitating a wave of repressive hysteria in the Haymarket Affair. Economic failures recurred in 1893 initiating a prolonged industrial depression regarded by Henry May as the single most serious challenge to national economy and polity between the Civil War and the crash of 1929. Armies of the poor and unemployed marched on Washington led by "General" Jacob Coxey who promoted tax-supported public works to employ the needy and feed the hungry (May, 1949, pp. 91-111).

As the cities progressed in banking, insurance, technology, the arts, and philanthropy, so also the cities bred prostitution, thievery, poverty, ignorance, and malnutrition. Throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s the major Protestant churches offered a range of prescriptive measures as

they grew increasingly sensitive to the plight of the underclass. Congregationalists joined Presbyterian, Episcopal, and other groups in responding to the dislocations of modern life. The "social gospel," rooted in British and Continental social Christianity and American progressive thought, departed from prior Protestant reforms which had emphasized charity, moral reform, and individual regeneration. Social gospel proponents sought to build the kingdom of God on earth; they preached corporate responsibility (not just individual responsibility) and urged churches toward the goal of social justice. They established departments of social action, took welfare services to the underprivileged, and expanded seminary curricula to include social ethical issues (May, 1949, p. 170; Walker et al., 1985, p. 665).[11]

The social gospel found its most powerful adherents in Washington Gladden and in other inclusive theologians including Josiah Strong (Congregationalist, 1847-1916) and Walter Rauschenbusch (Baptist, 1861-1918). All three visited frequently at Oberlin, preaching, lecturing, and solidifying personal and theological connections. All three sent children to Oberlin; Gladden's second daughter, Helen ("Nell"), attended in the 1880s (Dorn, 1986, pp. 105-08; Barnard, 1969, p. 122).[12]

Gladden was most active at Oberlin in the 1890s. The American Institute of Christian Sociology sponsored the Summer School of Applied Christianity which met at Oberlin in 1894; Gladden was elected president and he presented a paper on "Religion and Wealth." He chaired a committee that devised plans for the school the following year on the general topic of "The Causes and Proposed Remedies for Poverty." Both summer school sessions attracted luminaries from throughout the nation including Josiah Strong, J. H. W. Stuckenberg (a Lutheran minister and sociologist), and Graham Taylor (professor of Christian sociology at Chicago Theological Seminary) in 1894. The school attracted more diverse individuals in 1895: Amherst economist John Bates Clark and Western Reserve sociologist Stephen F. Westin; business executives S. P. Bush and N. O. Nelson; labor leaders James Sovereign (Knights of Labor), Samuel Gompers (American Federation of Labor), and Carroll D. Wright (U.S. Commission of Labor); these were joined by Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, and socialist Thomas Morgan (May, 1949, pp. 253-54; Dorn, 1986, p. 201; Barnard, 1969, pp. 92-97).

Although his school did not survive, Gladden remained immensely popular at Oberlin. His lectures and sermons were highly praised. The *Oberlin*

Review hailed him as "one of Ohio's brightest thinkers" and, although he rejected an appointment as an Oberlin trustee, he returned to campus repeatedly and was a welcome guest well into the twentieth century. He had a profound influence on Oberlin students one of whom specifically recalled having been stirred by Washington Gladden to enter the ministry. Henry Churchill King, Oberlin president from 1902 to 1927, referred to Gladden as "the first citizen of Columbus, orator, author, ideal pastor, civilian, [and] saint" (*Oberlin Review*, 1896, p. 331 and quoted in Dorn, 1966, pp. 135, 442).

Challenged to examine society in a systematic fashion, students in Oberlin's courses on practical sociology and advanced economic problems wrote papers on "The Drink Problem Sociologically Considered," "The Institutional Church," "The Problem of Child Labor," "The Tramp Problem and Legislation," "The Work of Hull House," and related topics. Professors designed classes to consider current problems and to pose ameliorative measures. Students witnessed urban life first-hand when they traveled to Cleveland to visit the jail, the work house, the city hospital, and city hall as well as private and public service and philanthropic agencies. They published a bibliography entitled "References on the History of Labor and Some Contemporary Labor Problems" as an issue of the *Oberlin College Library Bulletin* (Oberlin College Library, 1896). Their reading lists included the works of Charles Loring Brace, Richard T. Ely, Henry George, Washington Gladden, and Carroll D. Wright. Although Oberlin's young social scientists—John R. Commons, J. William Black, and Thomas N. Carver—challenged students intellectually, it sometimes remained for a national leader like Washington Gladden to inspire them.

Howard Hyde Russell was born in 1855 in Stillwater, Minnesota. His father was a teacher and an Episcopal minister, and Russell was reared where his father worked: Glen Falls, New York; Galva, Illinois; and Davenport, Iowa. He served as a clerk at Rock Island Arsenal, followed a cattle drive to Colorado where he taught school, and then returned to Iowa to edit the *Adams County Gazette*. He studied at Indianola College and the Iowa College of Law prior to his admission to the bar in 1878. He practiced law in Corning, Iowa (1878-83), during which time he also served as superintendent of the Adams County schools. In 1883, Russell attended a revival meeting, experienced an emotional conversion, and through the prayerful influence of his wife, left law practice to enter the theological seminary at Oberlin. He graduated in 1888, held pastorates at rapidly growing churches in Kansas City and Chicago, and devoted

additional energy to anti-liquor organizing (*Who Was Who in America*, s.v. "Russell, Howard Hyde"; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Russell, Howard Hyde"; Porter, 1925, vol. 5, pp. 2324-27).

His move into the nexus of prohibition activity at Oberlin in 1893 signaled the institution's special commitments to anti-liquor efforts. Prohibition was one of many options considered by Protestant reformers in the 1880s and 1890s, and it further defined the political and religious impulses of the college. Oberlinians had achieved success in 1882 with passage of the Metcalf bill in the Ohio State legislature. Named for George P. Metcalf, state representative from Oberlin's legislative district, the law authorized the councils of college and university towns to pass effective prohibition ordinances (Tucker, 1983, p. 156; Porter, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 175-86). Another significant opportunity had arisen in 1887 in the form of the Beatty bill which provided for local option votes in townships. The Oberlin Temperance Alliance, throwing its entire weight behind passage of the bill, engaged Howard Russell, who directed a statewide campaign from an office in Columbus. To further support this effort, Oberlinians supplied the pulpit for Russell's Ohio congregation and, since Russell was still a student in the seminary, it was understood that his professors would demonstrate leniency in the event that his examinations somehow fell short. The efforts of all concerned elicited the desired results with enactment in 1888 of the Beatty Township Local-Option Law (Barnard, 1969, p. 97; Porter, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 175-86; Howard H. Russell to Azariah Root, personal communication, 15 July 1886).

The Anti-Saloon League of America (ASL) was born in the Spear Library, Oberlin College, on May 24, 1893. The occasion was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oberlin Temperance Alliance which had been founded in 1874 to employ legal means to suppress the traffic in and use of intoxicating liquors. The committee, chaired by Chemistry Professor Frank F. Jewett, included Latin Professor and college secretary and treasurer Giles W. Shurtleff, ministers James Brand and Henry M. Tenney, bookseller A. G. Comings, J. T. Henderson of the Oberlin Business College, and Azariah Smith Root, librarian and professor of bibliography. The Alliance appointed Russell to organize an interdenominational, nonpartisan state association, the Ohio Anti-Saloon League (OASL). Russell employed his best rhetorical and organizational skills in an effort to shape public and legislative opinion by mobilizing Protestant churches; he secured abstinence pledges among young people, raised funds, and published pamphlets and newspapers. A highly successful organizer, he was soon called upon to assist other states in

modeling their associations after the OASL. Within two more years he would be appointed the first Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America (Porter, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 175-76; Tucker, 1983, pp. 156-58; Barnard, 1969, pp. 98-99; Timberlake, 1970, pp. 126-30 [originally published in 1963]; "Prohibition," 1927, pp. 13-14).

That the ASL emerged as one of the most powerful pressure groups in American history testifies not only to Russell's organizational abilities but also to the league's carefully crafted mission. The ASL focused its energies more on the saloon and the degenerate way of life dependent on it than on prohibition in the broadest sense. Though intensely political, the league took a staunchly nonpartisan stance, soliciting support from every quarter regardless of race, creed, profession, or party, an especially fruitful approach that facilitated appeals to Protestants at mass meetings. Finally, the ASL served not as a competitor among scores of prohibition organizations but rather as a federation of existing groups. By the time Russell had relinquished his post in 1903, he had traveled more than 50,000 miles per year, organized the league in 40 states, signed agreements with more than 250 organizations representing more than 9 million citizens, and raised funds sufficient for 300 full-time salaried employees (Timberlake, 1970, pp. 127, 130; *Who Was Who in America*, s.v. "Russell, Howard Hyde"; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Russell, Howard Hyde").

After 1903, Russell continued to serve as superintendent of the ASL of New York and as chairman of the board for the national organization. In 1909, Russell moved to Westerville, Ohio, to work with the league's publishing house and to expand its youth pledge operation. Relocating to Ohio had allowed him to eliminate travel as a heavy professional responsibility, but he remained active internationally by organizing and presiding over the first World League Against Alcoholism and by consulting with anti-liquor organizations in France, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Russell and other Oberlinians pursued the prohibition cause well into the twentieth century. And certainly Russell had been the movement's founding organizer remaining active throughout his professional life. Although a number in the Oberlin community continued to present their anti-liquor arguments until about World War I, Oberlin as a community had been most intensely active in the movement during the 1880s and 1890s. Broad humanitarian concerns had marked prohibition efforts since the age of Andrew Jackson. However, with passage of the

Volstead Act in 1919, prohibition activists tended to focus on single-issue rather than multi-issue politics. When the "drys" had legal sanctions behind them, they emphasized law enforcement and their sympathy for the drunkard as victim was displaced by their indignation at the drunkard as criminal. The more broadly based nonprohibition reforms, characterizing much of mainline Protestantism in the late nineteenth century, had been divorced from the liquor question. While the national prohibition organizations were moving to more conservative positions, Oberlin's prohibitionists tended to identify with the movement's more humanitarian phase (Carter, 1954, pp. 32-33, 38, 41; Tucker, 1983, pp. 158-61).[13]

Anti-liquor appeals resonated at Oberlin for a wide range of reasons stemming from the institution's special character. Saloon life mitigated against the nuclear family by encouraging drunkenness and prostitution, by introducing an undisciplined brutality among hearth and home. Anti-liquor reformers, then, promoted conservative ideals; the notion of "re-forming" or "forming again" represented middle-class efforts to establish stability and order in a volatile society. The "bourgeois interior," defined by John Lukacs and offering an interpretive framework for the anti-liquor impulse, upheld privacy, domesticity, personal security, and the supreme sanctity of the family. It was accompanied by social mobility and the propagation of education, an education that inculcated a commitment to social justice tempered with reason and prudence. Without the influence of the bourgeois interior (when freed from narrow class and economic connotations), prohibition might be seen as irrational or repressive (Lukacs, 1970, pp. 616-30; Clark, 1976, p. 12; Tucker, 1981, pp. 284-85). At Oberlin, prohibition was neither irrational nor repressive but rather one additional tool needed to improve society, and it stimulated countless formal and informal debates that necessitated access to a scholarly apparatus—a library of current political, social, and theological literature.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING AND AZARIAH SMITH ROOT: SCHOLARSHIP AND LEADERSHIP

Turning now from those whose work inspired an interest in reading and the use of libraries, we examine those whose work provided access to books and other reading materials. Henry Churchill King, known sometimes as Harry King or Professor King, and Azariah Smith Root, known generally as Professor Root, labored in tandem to create and nurture a library—the research apparatus essential to Oberlin's maturity as an institution.

Henry Churchill King was born in 1858 in Hillsdale, Michigan, where his father was serving as secretary-treasurer of Hillsdale College. He studied in the public schools of Hillsdale and, following two years at Hillsdale College, transferred to Oberlin. He graduated from the college in 1879 and the seminary in 1882. One year later, he earned an A.M. in philosophy at Harvard and, during 1893-94, he studied at the University of Berlin where he was influenced by the philosophy of Hermann Lotze and the theology of Albrecht Ritschl. As a seminarian, he tutored in the preparatory department in Latin and mathematics. Following his return from Harvard, he served as Associate Professor of Mathematics (1884-90); Associate Professor of Philosophy (1890-91); College Registrar (1890-93); and Professor of Philosophy (1891-97). Thereafter, he taught both philosophy and theology, succeeding President Fairchild as Professor of Theology (1897-1925) in the seminary. He served as dean of the college (1898-1902, 1908-10) and as Oberlin's president (1902-1927). Upon retirement, he had been either an employee or a student of the institution for 50 years (Starr, 1944, pp. 469-70; Oberlin College, 1909, pp. 157-58; Oberlin College, 1960, p. 38).

King was first and foremost a theologian, and it was on the basis of his scholarly credentials, principally in theology, that he ascended to the Oberlin presidency. He began but never completed the process of creating a thorough theological system; after his appointment as president in 1902, he turned his writings to more practical and didactic concerns. He had presented his primary theoretical statements in his earliest works, *Reconstruction in Theology* (1901) and *Theology and the Social Consciousness* (1902). In *Reconstruction in Theology*, he wrote that a certain set of moral and spiritual convictions had achieved a new emphasis:

> reverence for personality, freedom of conscience, and freedom of investigation; law in the spiritual world, yet the subordination of the mechanical and the unity of the ethical life in love; no separation of the sacred and secular; the social conscience, the central importance of action, and the recognition of Christ as the supreme person. (King, 1901, p. 45)[11]

Theology must grow as science was growing. The tracing of causal relationships amidst a great complex of physical and psychological laws was the work of science; the meaning of the results was the work of theology. In this framework, evolution would be understandable and acceptable to theologian and scientist alike since it supported God's immanence in the world and explained the Diety's method of action. For King, the Bible made no claims regarding scientific history. Rather, the Bible represented God's revelation which could be seen not only in written form

but also in the growing maturity of those accepting its message; the fullest revelation of God's work was in the Christ. The development of personal friendships, imbued by concepts of individuals as sacred, meant nothing short of acquaintance with God. These concepts promoted the hermeneutic that, in response to common theological expressions, scripture displayed a rich variety of responses rather than a collection of prooftexts. God was not dictating doctrinal propositions, He was educating men and women. Therefore, higher criticism, focusing like science on method rather than result, involved a study of verifiable factual claims which the Christian must face without fear or prejudice (Love, 1956, pp. 172-76).

In *Theology and the Social Consciousness*, King promoted the essential interdependency of persons reasoning that, since we all rely on God for our very beings, we are members of one another through Him. The ideal practice of religion involved the development of personal relationships of a high ethical character manifesting a sacred respect for the personality of others. The task of man required applying the ethics of Christ to every interpersonal relationship and every social problem. Man surveyed the "struggling, chaotic, sinning world with the eye of an unclouded religious faith, and [discerned] in it the principle of personality fulfilling the will of God in social service" (Francis G. Peabody quoted in King, 1904, pp. 111-12). Thus, "through a theology of personal relationship King supplied Oberlin with a social Christianity" (Barnard, 1969, p. 117).

Although King emerged with national stature in the field of higher education, serving as a trustee for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and was well-known in various political, theological, and intellectual circles, he extended his influence most profoundly at Oberlin. Like Monroe, Commons, and others, King adopted the newer methods of instruction. He sought for students a vital firsthand experience with the content to be mastered. In mathematics, he developed a laboratory-style method with students drawing three-dimensional objects, describing them in mathematical terms, and then presenting oral reports. Direct student participation took center stage in his introductory research course in philosophy to the delight of his students. Studies from a primary text constituted but one portion of a wide range of methods that also included dialogues, discussions, conferences, lectures, oral reports, and individual investigations (Love, 1956, pp. 56-57, 77).

From his earliest days as an undergraduate, King staunchly supported library expansion. In 1879, he argued for stronger reference sources,

posing eight research questions that ought logically to follow an investigation of a representative Greek word. He found the library's theological holdings ill-equipped to support such research. His repeated election as chair of the ULA Book Purchase Committee extended beyond two decades. In 1890, he responded to a student protest that the ULA Library represented too strong a concentration in the field of religion. He conducted a study of acquisitions over the previous three years concluding that only 48 of the 882 volumes (or 5.4 percent) could be classified as religious works. He took a keen interest in the college library and successfully lobbied Andrew Carnegie for a grant of $125,000 to construct a new library building for Oberlin (*Oberlin Review*, 1879, pp. 174-75; Love, 1956, pp. 51-52, 132-33; Tucker, 1983, pp. 73-75).[5]

In his support of reading and libraries, King provided intellectual as well as administrative leadership. Like President Ballantine, King placed the undergraduate college at the center of institutional purpose. The college would address the greatest needs of individuals. It would inculcate wisdom and understanding by teaching the fine art of living, by offering the best available preparation for entering with prudence and generosity into life's personal relationships, and by advancing social progress efficiently and unselfishly. Among Oberlin's presidents, King broke fresh ground by appealing to the social sciences—in particular psychology, sociology, and political science—as authoritative in explaining the nature of man (Larson, 1976, pp. 90-95; Love, 1956, p. 177). He had devised theoretical constructs, presented in the form of his philosophy of education, that constituted rationales for those disciplines most effective in advancing the interests of reading and library use.

Azariah Smith Root was born in 1862 in Middlefield, Massachusetts, the son of Solomon Francis and Anna Smith Root. He benefitted from the New England emphasis on high standards of education and town-meeting styles of government. His ancestors provided agricultural and commercial leadership, taught in the Middlefield "select school," and held the basic tenets of the Baptist and Congregational faiths. In 1878, he moved to Oberlin to live with his uncle, Judson Smith, then Professor of Church History and later an Oberlin trustee. Root completed college preparatory work in 1880, graduated from the college in 1884, and studied one year each at the law schools of Boston University and Harvard. He later studied analytical bibliography and the history of printing at Göttingen, but in 1887 he abandoned law school when he was appointed Oberlin College library director at age 24 (Root, 1955; Tucker, 1983, pp. 27-29; Johnson, 1978, pp. 444-46).

As a model of a fully integrated life, Root was perhaps as representative as any Oberlinian of his era. Unlike most middle-class professionals in the nation's great cities, Oberlinians tended not to lead segmented highly specialized lives. The threads of the community fabric were woven so tightly that seams marking a line between the college and the village (or between religion and politics, commerce and philanthropy) often seemed invisible. Politically, Root voted Republican, occasionally bolting in favor of a non-partisan cause like prohibition, a pattern consistent with the world view dominating Oberlin and the Western Reserve in general (Jensen, 1971, pp. 62-63).[16] Root actively favored prohibition; the Anti-Saloon League of America (when traced to its structural origins) was born in his office on the Oberlin campus. For more than three decades he served as budget chairman of the First Congregational Church in Oberlin. He spoke annually to each of the town's African-American congregations. He served as member or presiding officer of the Oberlin Mutual Benefit Association, the Board of Commerce, the Water Works Inspection Committee, the Village Improvement Society, and the Oberlin Telephone Company. He served for 20 years as President of the Board of Education of the Oberlin Union School District. Local Historian Wilbur Phillips mastered the art of understatement in concluding that Root's work on behalf of the education, welfare, and prosperity of his home town had been "outstanding" (Phillips, 1933, p. 283).

Root embodied the civic consciousness advanced by contemporary progressives. The ideal of community service had arisen as a key response to the widespread dislocations of the period. Reformers urged citizens to rediscover local traditions, honor prominent figures from the past, and support their common possessions and public services, thereby encouraging those who felt threatened by an ominously complex society or a numbing state of anomie. The positive impulses of community service had resulted in the establishment of colleges and universities, parks, public libraries, and civic and fraternal organizations (Cotton, 1954, pp. 258-59; Root, 1909, pp. 1546-53).

Like King, Commons, and others, Root emerged as a highly skilled professional. He won election as president of various state and national library and bibliographical organizations, taught in the schools of librarianship in major universities, and served as the first secretary and a charter trustee of the Hayes Historical Society as well as the original planner of the Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library in Fremont, Ohio. Yet, also like King, Root extended his influence most profoundly at home. His major contributions—building up the Oberlin College Library

collections and teaching generations of students how to use them—secured for Root a distinctive role in local leadership and earned him national stature among professional peers. The birth of the research library at Oberlin and its exponential rate of growth during his administration testify to Root's success in collection development. Within 15 years of Root's appointment, the college library's rate of growth had surpassed that of each of seven sister institutions by more than 27 percent. A landmark study in 1944 concluded that between 1876 and 1938, Oberlin ranked among an elite corps of ten academic libraries whose collections had doubled in size once every nine and one-half years. By 1924, Oberlin possessed the largest college library in the United States, having surpassed many universities as a significant collection for research.[17]

A signal event in Root's career was the construction in 1908 of the Carnegie Library at Oberlin College. Not only did the college obtain a facility suitable for its collections and services, it also established a joint college-public library when the town's local authorities, Root among them, approved a property tax to support the venture. Thus, popular reading materials became readily available to the college community, and a rich research library was brought within the grasp of the general public. The great success of this unusual experiment is apparent from the large numbers of non-college residents who used the library (Oberlin College, 1910, p. 265; Root, 1955, pp. 30-31).[18] The unified library stood, moreover, as one further manifestation of Oberlin's commitment to social innovation and its devotion to the common good.

Much like President King, Root succeeded in part because he became something of a campus institution, performing a multitude of college-related tasks for more than 40 years. He was one of only two professors appointed by former President James Harris Fairchild who was still on the job when King retired. In 1890, Root was appointed Professor of Bibliography, a responsibility he sometimes augmented by teaching summer classes in American, French, and Medieval history. He served for 34 years on the Prudential Committee, an administrative arm of the college that conducted its daily financial affairs. When chairing this committee, Root served virtually as interim president during two of President King's extended absences. Root chaired the Central Committee to raise funds for the Rockefeller matching grant in 1901, chaired the investment committee of Oberlin's trustees, organized programs for the institution's 75th anniversary celebration in 1908, and planned construction of Keep Cottage, a campus residence for women (Love, 1956, p.

144; Tucker, 1983, pp. 64-67, 110-15. See also Blodgett, 1985, pp. 22-23).

That Root created for Oberlin a splendid research apparatus owes to a variety of factors. Contemporaries recall Root as very active among the alumni; the dramatic increase in collection size resulted more from gifts of materials than from purchases. Root also maintained a superb relationship with President King. They toured England together on bicycles in 1895. They served together for many years on the Prudential Committee with King beginning in 1890 and Root in 1893. King knew that in Root he had the aid of a spirited fund-raiser. Root and King held in common a vision of the college as a source of democratic opportunity and a vision of the church as an agent of social redemption. Root also held an especially clear grasp of the relationship between a fine research library and a highly qualified faculty. He constantly reminded Oberlinians of how the latter depended on the former, that the college could not hope to attract, nurture, and support the best faculty without a good research library. Yet he developed the collection without waiting for faculty initiative; he understood scholarship in the broadest sense, and he knew instinctively what types of materials belonged in a good research library collection. Library authorities familiar with Oberlin described its strengths as including Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, English language and literature, American literature, and English and American history, also religion, philosophy, literature, history, economics, sociology, and political science generally (Martin, 1944; Love, 1956, p. 81; Tucker, 1983, pp. 44-50; Root, 1955, p. 58; Keyes D. Metcalf to Marion Root, personal communication, 11 September 1953).

CONCLUSION

Monroe, Commons, Gladden, Russell, King, and Root all flourished and influenced Oberlin at some critical point during the years 1883 to 1908. Students were made conscious of the society which had granted them numerous opportunities. Professors "did not hesitate to lay upon their students the requirements of *noblesse oblige*" (Love, 1956, p. 48). The service obligation of the nobility was a concept that Oberlinians borrowed from the French and applied to both interpret institutional heritage and define institutional purpose. Though anti-aristocratic, they felt enriched spiritually and intellectually and thus felt compelled to make service a significant corporate and individual ideal. They explored a range of innovative solutions to social problems then under consideration by American Protestants.

In their era, higher education changed rapidly. Consciously imitating their German counterparts, American professors began promoting research as an academic ideal to equal or in many instances surpass teaching. These two significant and, at times, competing concepts infiltrated Oberlin's professional dialogue. The rise of research ushered in social science disciplines and infused older disciplines with more rigorous perspectives. Oberlinians grafted the social sciences onto an already powerful socially conscious tradition. Recently trained professors established new subject-based organizations, conducted original research, and published their findings. The professorial demand for strong library resources followed inevitably. Scholars in the humanities and social sciences adopted the notion of the library as a laboratory, a conception corresponding to the laboratory in the basic sciences. The library as laboratory supported the new seminar method of instruction, likewise borrowed from Germany, in which professors led discussions that evaluated the results of student research presented in the classroom. To meet the demands of the newer methods of instruction and research, students and faculty required an ever-expanding variety of printed and manuscript resources.

Into these elements Oberlinians mixed their political and religious impulses. They hoped to make life easier for the underclass, to redress the many human wrongs resulting from the Industrial Revolution, and to realize the Kingdom of God on earth. Rather, they transformed the character of their college, inculcating in generations of students the purposes of social Christianity, the desire to integrate scholarly and social ideals, and the motivation to seek, to read, and to understand the truth without fear. "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them . . ." (Bible, Hebrews 11:13a).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For assistance in obtaining materials, the author gratefully acknowledges Roland Baumann and his colleagues at the Oberlin College Archives. Baumann possesses encyclopedic knowledge of Oberlin and great skill at organizing materials and providing access to them; he and his staff are faithful friends of the academic scholar. The late William A. Moffett, director of the Oberlin College Library for more than a decade, provided moral support and offered ideas for further research. Barbara Tucker served graciously and resourcefully as research assistant during trips to Oberlin. The preparation of this paper was supported, in part, by the Purdue University Libraries, by a Research Fellowship from the

Council on Library Resources, and by a Frederick B. Artz Summer Research Grant from the Oberlin College Archives.

NOTES

1. Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), Presbyterian reformer and evangelical revivalist, served as professor of theology at Oberlin and as president from 1851 to 1865. Laurence Veysey (1973) referred to Finney as a "man of truly unusual magnetic force" who "inspired a growing audience to link abolitionism with the new style of religious and moral regeneration" (p. 47). The major works on Finney include those by Drummond (1983), Weddle (1985), and Hardman (1987).
2. On immigration issues, see Solomon (1956). See also the landmark historical synthesis relating comprehensive responses to social problems (Wiebe, 1967).
3. Marion Root, daughter of Oberlin Librarian Azariah Smith Root, graduated from Oberlin in 1917. See also Fletcher (1943, vol. 2, pp. 760-83), Rudolph (1990, pp. 141-44), and Horowitz (1987, p. 29).
4. Martin (1944), a long-time professor of Greek literature and archaeology, graduated from Oberlin in 1876 and the seminary in 1881. On literary societies and their libraries, see Storrie (1945, pp. 240-48), Brough (1953, pp. 10-11), Rudolph (1990, pp. 141-44), Rouse (1966), Harding (1971), Holley (1976, pp. 13-14), Simpson (1977, pp. 209-21), and Hamlin (1981, pp. 38-40, 88). Michael J. Waldo (1985) modifies earlier perceptions about the subjects represented in library collections in his doctoral dissertation.
5. Ely chaired the Book Purchase Committee continuously except for a brief interim when he was away in graduate school. See also Tucker (1983, p. 15).
6. On evolving definitions of graduate, undergraduate, and professional study in the late nineteenth century, see Marsden (1994, pp. 153-66).
7. Commons's mentor, Richard T. Ely, had rejected socialism and social Darwinism preferring economic goals undergirded by Christian ethics. He promoted a new theology, "the freedom and brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and the imitation of Christ." May (1949) described Ely as "one of the most important single influences on Christian social thought" in *Protestant Churches* (pp. 140-41). More recently, Marsden (1994) reported that, among founders of the American Economic Association (of which Ely was one), Ely was controversial not for social gospel interests but for promoting a mild form of socialism in *Soul of the American University* (1994, p. 253). For a discussion of Ely, see Resek (1967), Rader (1966), and Mouchouse and Gordon (1966).
8. On Congregational interests in developing a corps of well-educated ministers, see Naylor (1971). A new era of college-founding emerged in the early nineteenth century having been spurred in part by Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Although their faith in education can be traced earlier, in 1701 Congregationalists had founded Yale University which became the "mother of colleges" within the denomination. The Yale progeny, some co-founded with Presbyterians, included Dartmouth (1769), Williams (1793), Bowdoin (1794), Middlebury (1800), Amherst (1825), Western Reserve (1826), Oberlin (1833), Illinois College (1835), Marietta (1835), Knox (1837), Beloit (1846), Grinnell (1847), Ripon (1851), California at Berkeley (1855), and Wheaton in Illinois (1861). That the present-day University of California and Wheaton College both stemmed from the same root is surely one of life's ironies. Following the Civil War, Congregationalist support of the American Missionary Society facilitated the establishment of eight African-American colleges five of which were directed by Congregationals and three of which remain today although independently (Fisk, 1866; Talladega, 1867; Tougaloo, 1869). See Tewksbury (1932, pp. 120-22) and Caston (1988, pp. 481-497). Louise L. Stevenson (1986) adds to our contextual understanding of Congregational and related evangelical impulses at Yale in the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 55-59). The best recent study of the Congregational church is by John Von Rohr (1992).
9. Along with numerous other Congregationals, Gladden was influenced by Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), one of the foremost theologians of his era. See also Cross (1958).

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[11] See also Bowden (1993, pp. 204–05).

[12] The standard early analysis of the social gospel is by Hopkins (1940). Recent scholarship includes Curtis (1991). Marsden observes that "the Protestant religious situation in the 1880s did not yet include the sharp differentiation between revivalist evangelical fervor and advanced theological opinion, humanitarianism, and social concern. All these could march hand in hand in the heady days when America as Christianity...promised to modernize and civilize the world" (Marsden, 1994, p. 18).

[13] For a recent discussion of Gladden's theology, see Youngs (1990, pp. 161–81, 255–57). The historiography related to Gladden and Rauschenbusch continues to grow. See Kornbluh (1968), Frederick (1976), Fox (1989), Fiddhaum (1991), Minus (1998), and Strucker (1994).

[14] For a cogent argument by a representative Oberlinian, see "Professor Rice Makes Appeal for Smashing Liquor Traffic as Matter of Sane Business" (1914, p. 8).

[15] On presidential succession at Oberlin, see Lane (1936, pp. 62–65, 78, 85–89, 102–03); Tucker (1985, pp. 56–64); and Bigglestone (1973, pp. 41–54).

[16] King's report on the book-burning habits of the ULA Library corroborates the majority historical opinion on the collection-development practices of student society libraries. See also note number 4 above.

[17] Jensen found that 82 percent of midwestern Congregationalists supported the GOP. The tension that frequently characterizes the "town-gown" relationship was mostly absent at Oberlin (especially during the years under consideration). See also Tucker (1985, pp. 72–79, 91–92).

[18] See Tucker (1985, p. 43) who compared the growth rates of Amherst, Beloit, Knox, Marietta, Oberlin, Western Reserve, and Williams. See also Fremont-Rider (1944) who compared Chicago, California, Illinois, Cornell, Minnesota, Western Reserve, Iowa State, Oberlin, Rochester, and Syracuse (pp. 6–7); also Oberlin College (1963, pp. 5–7); Moore (1963, pp. 1412–16); Harwell (1971, p. 269). In 1885, the Oberlin College Library held 13,829 volumes. By 1928 the figure was 299,179 bound volumes, 200,249 unbound volumes and pamphlets, and 42,678 assorted magazines, unbound newspapers, maps, photographs, prints, and coins plus several cabinets of manuscript material. See Tucker (1985, p. 42) and Oberlin College (1928, p. 73). Richard Rubin (1977) discusses Root's work in library use instruction (pp. 2[illegible]). Molineaux (1994, pp. 297–325) re-evaluates Rider's data.

[19] The college and the village maintained the joint college public library arrangement until the late 1980s.

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